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¶ESTHER K. SHELDON is a member of the Department of English at Queens College, Flushing, New York. Her article on the incomplete comparative was read to the Present-Day English group of the Modern Language Association last Christmas. ¶ARTHUR MINTON's last previous article in *American Speech* was 'Olympians, Hurricanes, and Vultures,' in our December, 1944, issue. He is at present working on a study of perfume names. ¶B. J. WHITING, of Harvard University, writes in this issue on the word 'canoodle.' His earlier article on American Wellerisms (February, 1945) seems to have aroused a good deal of interest; Joseph Jones submits some addenda in the 'Miscellany' section of this issue, and we have a further list of Wellerisms by C. Grant Loomis which we hope to print in December. ¶ATCHESON L. HENCH, Professor of English in the University of Virginia, is one of our oldest and most valued collaborators, although his discussion of 'ballyhoo,' printed in this issue, is his first contribution since 1931 which has been long enough to appear as a principal article. Now that the rigors of war-time teaching are nearing an end, we hope to have more longer essays from his pen. ¶CARMELITA KLIPPLE, a graduate of the University of Texas, is at present connected with the Austin public schools. Her article on the speech of Spicewood, Texas, is a synopsis of the principal points brought out in her Master's thesis. ¶ALLEN B. KELLOGG, a Ph.D. of the University of Chicago, has taught at Indiana University and is now Professor of English at Indiana Central College in Indianapolis.

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AMERICAN SPEECH

VOLUME XX OCTOBER, 1945 NUMBER 3

THE RISE OF THE INCOMPLETE COMPARATIVE

ESTHER K. SHELDON
Queens College

THE COMPARATIVE without a completing clause is not new in English. We have it in such phrases as 'for *better* or *worse*,' 'the *younger* generation,' 'the *higher* criticism,' 'the *better* life.' It is mentioned by Jespersen, and also by Curme, who calls it the absolute comparative. In Curme's *Syntax* (p. 508), we read that

> The absolute comparative is not as common as the absolute superlative: the *lower* classes; the *higher* classes; *higher* education; a *better*-class cafe; the *more complex* problems of life. . .

These comparatives are peculiar for several reasons; first of all, they are very difficult to complete. The younger generation than what? Presumably than the old generation, or to use another absolute comparative, the *older* generation. But the expression is so constructed that the completion, if the hearer wished to make it mentally, would be complicated and awkward. And as a matter of fact the hearer does not try to make the completion, for (and this is a second peculiarity) the idea of comparison has almost completely faded from these expressions. For this reason, Curme's descriptive term—absolute comparative—is appropriate. In spite of the comparative form, the sense, in most of these phrases, is either positive (the younger generation is really the young generation) or superlative (the better 'ole is the best hole). High-class cafes and higher-class cafes amount to about the same thing. Sometimes the absolute comparative in these phrases seems to indicate something even less than the positive, and apparently grows out of a euphemistic tendency—a desire to be less blunt in effect than either the positive or superlative would be. 'The older generation,' strangely enough, sounds less old than the 'old' generation; and 'the larger woman' in 'dresses for the larger woman' is not so large as the 'large' woman. An explanation of this

peculiar inversion may not be out of place here. Jespersen, *Essentials of English Grammar,* p. 226, has pointed out that

> the comparative does not mean a higher degree of the quality in question than the positive does in itself: 'Peter is older than John' does not imply that Peter is old, and the comparative may therefore really indicate a lesser degree than the positive would in 'Peter is old.'

This is quite true. Peter could be older than John and still be only two years old, whereas if Peter is old, he must be getting on in years. This peculiarity of the completed comparative has been carried over into the absolute comparative, where it again provides the desired softening effect. Not only does it dull the blow in 'the older generation,' 'the larger woman,' but it also helps in 'the lower classes' (not lower than low, surely), in 'dresses for the older woman' (think how 'old woman' would sound), in 'the younger generation' (not quite so young and green as the young generation), and in 'the higher classes.' And so, although the absolute comparative has lost all comparative feeling, it still, in some instances, preserves this ability of the comparative to indicate something *less* than the positive.

Other absolute comparatives are popular, especially in the commercial world. 'All of the better stores carry our product'; 'women's and misses' better dresses.' (Perhaps it is necessary to explain here that the latter is the name of a special department, usually for *higher*-priced dresses, in most of the *better* department stores.) A new collection of cartoons by Richard Taylor of the *New Yorker* is entitled 'The Better Taylors.' Here of course the comparative is certainly not less than the positive *good.* But why is the comparative used at all? Why not *good* or *best?* Why not 'all of the good stores,' or 'all of the best stores'? Why not 'women's and misses' good dresses' or 'best dresses'? I should say here that the preference for *better* over *good* is to prevent any invidious comparisons (all stores and all of our dresses and all Taylor cartoons are *good,* naturally), so that here, paradoxically, a comparative form is used to forestall comparison. The preference for *better* over *best* seems to me to grow out of a snobbish humility and actually produces an effect which is much more devastatingly superior than the simple superlative could provide.

Absolute comparatives, as I have said, are difficult to complete. In a few of the illustrations I have given, a completion can be forced, I suppose, by supplying the phrase 'than average' after the comparative (the larger than average woman), but, in most, the comparison is really so vague, so uncertain, so faded as to be gone entirely. The fact that most absolute comparatives have become stock, petrified expressions must

have helped to drain the comparative feeling out of them. People hear and read them so often that they no longer feel any urge to try to make a completion.

There is also another kind of comparison in which the conclusion is not expressed. But in this kind, the conclusion is easier to make and the expression is by no means petrified. For example:

'Come out onto the porch; it's *cooler* here.' (Implied conclusion—'than inside.')

'I've rewritten this sentence. Do you like it *better*?' (Implied conclusion—'than you did before.')

'Go get some marbles from John; he has *more*.' (Implied conclusion—'than I have.')

'How are you feeling?' '*Better,* thank you.' (Implied conclusion—'than I did before.')

Comparatives of this sort are quite common, especially in speech; but they also occur in writing. The hearer or reader, it is true, does not have to make the completion mentally, but the completion is simple and the comparative feeling is there as it is not in the absolute comparative. For this reason, I have distinguished comparatives of this kind from absolute comparatives and called them by a different name—incomplete comparatives. Dr. Robert Pooley in *Needed Research in American English,* published by the American Dialect Society, May 1943, is, so far as I know, the first to mention this kind of comparative, which he calls the positive comparative. Actually, however, this comparative is not a positive.

In the illustrations of the incomplete comparative which I have just given, the implied comparison is with another time (do you like it better *than before?*), or with another place (it's cooler here *than inside*), or with another condition (he has more *than I have*). It is usually not with another thing or other things. In the construction 'one of his better efforts,' 'one of my cleverer friends'—a usage that was considered very smart several years ago—it is true that the comparison is with another thing. But note that the construction is partially petrified, requiring 'one of' as part of the pattern. It would still sound strange for us to say, out of a clear sky and apropos of nothing: 'I like John, because he is better-looking.' 'You will like Philadelphia, because it is a larger city.' When incomplete expressions of this sort are used, in ordinary speech or writing, you will usually find that the object with which the comparison is made has been mentioned earlier.

The comparison with another thing never mentioned before or after has, however, become part of the linguistic stock-in-trade of one particular field—the field of advertising. Indeed all forms of the incomplete comparative flourish there. To cite a few from radio advertising:

Gotham Gold-Stripe stockings wear longer.

. . . shot from guns to make them crisper, tastier.

Your money buys more in a Crawford store.

Lots more suds with Super-Suds.

Milder, better-tasting Chesterfields.

Pall-Mall cigarettes travel the smoke farther.

Printed advertising (in magazines, newspapers, on car cards) uses the incomplete comparative too:

Use less paper! Buy more bonds!

Finer funerals—sensibly priced.

World's most popular club soda—keeps drinks livelier, longer.

Just a few drops after shaving leave your face feeling softer and smoother.

Klutch holds them tighter. Klutch forms a comfort cushion; holds dental plates so much firmer and snugger that one can eat and talk with greater comfort and security.

The reason behind the rise of the incomplete comparative in advertising is not far to seek. Most advertisers have a policy[1] against the use of unqualified superlatives, such as 'the best in the world,' unless such claims can be supported by satisfactory proof. Such superlatives occasionally appear:

World's most popular club soda.

First among fine whiskies.

Right combination, world's best tobacco.

Best for juice and every use.

But these are rare.

With the superlative considered too dangerous, only the positive and the comparative are left. The positive is used, but, on the whole, the positive is too flat. Americans don't want something that is merely good; as we are told by the advertising profession itself, they want something that is better. Thus the comparative becomes the answer to the advertiser's need. However, the completed comparative is as dangerous as the superlative. 'Our product is better than all others'—such a statement amounts to a superlative, in point of fact. 'Our product is better than Jones Brothers' product'—this is the kind of claim that advertising never makes. No advertiser mentions a competitor's product by name; that

1. The statements which I make here and later about advertising policy are based on information given me by executives of three important radio networks. I should like to express now my gratitude to them and my regret that they preferred not to have me quote from their lively and illuminating responses.

would be free advertising. Furthermore, derogatory references, as in 'Our product is better than Jones Brothers' product,' are simply not tolerated —both for ethical and for legal reasons.

Hence the incomplete comparative in advertising. The public is invited to complete the comparison, and no harm is done. Actually, the form has several very valuable uses. The statement may be phrased so that the reader or listener will complete the comparison subjectively, turning it back upon himself and examining his own appearance, way of life, etc.:

Pink powders make you prettier (than you are now)

For lovelier lips (than you have now)

Just a few drops after shaving leave your face feeling softer and smoother (than it does now)

This is like the incomplete comparative used in normal speech, the implied comparison being with another time or condition. Most ads which do this can also be interpreted in another way, inviting comparison at the same time with other products. The after-shaving lotion may also leave your face feeling 'softer and smoother' than other after-shaving lotions, especially the one you are using now. Thus the completion may even be threefold:

You will feel better (than you do now)

You will feel better (than when you use the product you are now using)

You will feel better (than when you use *any other product*)

All this for the price of one small incomplete comparative. It's no wonder that advertising favors this usage.

Most incomplete comparisons, however, because of the less personal nature of the product, are satisfied with only the last two completions cited above, completions which compare the product with other *things*. Thus the reader or listener is promised something better than he is now using; at the same time the implication is that the particular product advertised is better than all others of its kind. Usually no specific competitor is implied. But one very popular jingle about a certain soft drink which was entering the field against one exceedingly strong competitor used the incomplete comparative to excellent effect, never mentioning the competitor but trusting, not in vain, for the correct conclusion:

Pepsicola hits the spot,
Twelve full ounces, that's a lot,
Twice as much for a nickle too . . .
Pepsicola is the drink for you.

I have no doubt that everyone who heard the advertisement filled in the same name after 'twice as much,' in unconsciously completing the comparison. Equally effective was the incomplete comparison in the feud between the Florida and California orange-growers. 'One-third to one-half more juice,' advertised the Florida orange-growers, to which California responded, 'You get more vitamins per glass when you use California navel oranges!'

Most modern descriptive grammars do not record the incomplete comparative; at most they mention the absolute comparative. But, as I have shown, the two are not the same. Further proof of this can be drawn from Curme himself. After saying that the absolute comparative is not so common as the absolute superlative, Curme goes on:

> We usually place here before the positive of the adjective a simple adverb, such as *tolerably, fairly, rather,* etc.: a tolerably (or fairly, or rather) long walk; somewhat talkative, etc.

In other words, 'a longer walk' is the same as 'a tolerably long walk.' I am not so sure of the validity of Curme's statement, but it is obvious that, even if the absolute comparative can sometimes be replaced by such adverbs plus the positive, the incomplete comparative can never be. Imagine the effect of advertising in terms of 'a fairly rich lather,' 'tolerably tasty,' 'goes rather far.'

Neglected though it may have been by descriptive grammarians, the incomplete comparative has been noted and black-listed by some prescriptive grammars. For example:

> Unfinished comparisons.—Avoid unfinished comparisons. Standard of comparison not expressed.
>
> UNFINISHED: I like this book better because it is more exciting.
> FINISHED: I like this book better because it is more exciting than the other books that I have read this summer.
>
> UNFINISHED: She is not so beautiful.
> FINISHED: She is not so beautiful as her sister.[2]

Incidentally, the two illustrations given here are excellent examples of the two types of comparatives which I have just been discussing. The first ('I like this book better because it is more exciting') is a true incomplete comparison, and exactly like those found on the radio and in written advertising. The second ('She is not so beautiful') is an absolute comparative, and needs no completion in colloquial use. Obviously the speaker had no completion in mind, and to force in the imaginary sister is to distort his original meaning completely. He simply used the ex-

2. Thomas, Manchester, and Scott, *Composition for College Students,* 1937, p. 371.

pression 'not so beautiful' to soften the blow of 'she is not beautiful'—or possibly to refute an assertion that she is beautiful. Similarly, in response to such questions as "How are you?', 'How are you doing?', we answer 'Not so good,' 'Not so hot.' A completion to these can be arranged, but surely the intention of the answer is simply 'Not good.'

It would seem necessary then to distinguish between the absolute comparative and the incomplete comparative. In neither is the standard of comparison expressed. In the former, the idea of comparison is almost entirely lacking and the form usually occurs in a petrified phrase. The incomplete comparative, on the other hand, is a true comparative; it does not make the completion, but, in the hands of the hopeful advertiser at least, it invites completion. Whether, in the minds of the unobliging public, the completion is always made is the subject for another study.

WORDS, WORDS, WORDS

A newspaper picture of November 5, 1944, shows Sergeant Frank Yunger, a baker at the Lincoln, Nebraska, airfield, with a panful of doughnuts just out of the *fryalator,* which 'turns them out at the rate of two dozen every three minutes.'

P. R. Beath contributes a note from Washington to 'Members of Dormitory Committee,' April, 1945, which mentions a matter of importance to be discussed, 'Programs and *finalizing* plans for the Mother's Day Breakfast.'

'At Echo Lake near Denver soldiers practice Arctic rescue work with a new Army vehicle, the M-29 tractor-type *Snowmobile,* and a special tractor.' Newspaper item, July 14, 1944.

Dorothy G. Park reports seeing the sign '*Washateria* and Laundry' on the outskirts of Dallas, Texas.

According to Kathryn McEuen, *loads and lashings,* meaning a large quantity of anything, is now taking its place in colloquial currency, at least in eastern states, alongside the familiar 'gobs,' 'heaps,' 'oceans,' 'oogens,' 'thousands,' *et al.*

Charmburgers are mentioned by S. J. Perelman (*New Yorker,* May 30, 1942). He does not describe them but says, 'I had dined famously off a charmburger and a sky-high malt.' *Turkeywich* and *duckwich* are noted by E. E. Ericson of the University of North Carolina in an article on 'Our American Blend Habit' (*Words,* 1941).

'Oversea for Ten *Femarines*' heads an Associated Press special from San Diego, California, December 25, 1944, concerning ten enlisted women marines.

APARTMENT-HOUSE NAMES

ARTHUR MINTON
Greenlawn, New York

AN ESTIMATED fourth of the apartment houses in New York City possess names.[1] These names may be cut into the lintels of the main entrances or lettered on the plate glass of doorways or on renting signs somewhere about the premises. The names are not ordinarily used in preference to numbered addresses, though for some of the larger institutions they tend to be so used familiarly—as in the case of *River House* and the *Beaux Arts Apts.*[2]

A large number of these names—an estimate is between a quarter and a third—contain the word *Arms* or *Court,* in that order of frequency: *Senior Arms, Castle Arms, Unity Ct., Kodgy Ct.* A rare inverted form also appears: *Court Diker, Court Bernards.* And there is an occasional *Courts*—apparently in analogy with *Arms*—as in *Casino Cts., Rebecca Cts.* While *Arms* seems to be holding its own, *Court* as a name element is no longer in the highest fashion.

These generic elements—so to call *Arms, Court(s),* and similar terms noticed below—are used in conjunction with words of various provenance, e.g., names of streets, personal names, and descriptive adjectives. *Arms Apts.,* in the Bronx, suggests an unprecedented exhaustion of the imagination plus a game determination to stick to the orismological amenities.

Not so numerous as those containing *Court* and *Arms* but smacking, by and large, of grander pretensions and later date are the names containing *Hall,* such as *Gothic Hall, Cinderella Hall, Marble Hall, Holbrook Hall.* The first element of *Hall*-names is usually one of those British or pseudo-British names that may be pronounced with pursed lips. *Haddon Hall,* the name of the ancient English mansion and of an American cigar, is affixed to at least three apartment houses in Brooklyn and one in Manhattan; Brooklyn also has a *Hadden Hall.*

At a distance behind *Arms, Court,* and *Hall* in popularity are *Manor, Tower(s), Gardens, Chambers, Terrace, House, Villa, Studios, Plaza,*

---

1. The estimate excludes two- and three-family houses that might be technically considered 'apartment houses.' About 5500 apartment-house names are listed in Polk's New York City directories, which are titled: *Polk's New York City Directory (Boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx), Vol. 135, 1933-4; Polk's Brooklyn (N.Y.) City Directory, Vol. 90, 1933-4; Polk's New York City Directory (Boroughs of Queens and Richmond), Vol. 1, 1933-4.* All are published by R. L. Polk & Co., Inc., New York. Polk's lists of these names are, however, by no means complete.

2. As a space-saving measure *Apartment(s)* and *Court(s),* when occurring in the names of apartment houses, will be abbreviated in this paper.

Gables, Lodge, Mansion, Chateau, Casa, and, to cap the crescendo of refinement, *Dwelling(s):*

Brockman Manor	*Strathmore House*	*Carol Lodge*
Floglo Manor	*Kolping House*	*Lodge Alba*
Town Towers	*Villa Guazzo*	*Bryant Mansion*
BSB Towers	*Villa Victoria*	*Knox Mansion*
Castilian Gardens	*Carlton Arms Studios*	*Sylvia Chateau*
Colonial Gardens	*Rodin Studios*	*The Chateau*
Chiswick Chambers	*Mildred Plaza*	*Casa Granada*
Paramount Chambers	*Tremont Plaza*	*Casa Sevilla*
London Terrace[3]	*Graylock Gables*	*Rex More Dwellings*
Ruxbury Terrace	*The Gables*	*Cragmore Dwelling*

The *Ayrcourt Cathedral,* the *Manor Palace,* and the *Palais de Mosholu* (on Mosholu Parkway in the Bronx) stand apart. Nor is it possible to pass without noticing the powerful waves of poetry that emanate from Brooklyn's *Casa Del Ritz,* which wonderfully pelts us with exoticism and with promise of prestige and of sybaritic life in the highest circles.

The use of the generic elements of the names has become formalized to such a degree that occasionally, by way of clarification, *Apartments* is added to the name: *Chelsea Ct. Tower Apts., Fine Ct. Apts., Grenville Hall Apts., Holstein Ct. Apts.*

For the most part these generic elements are obviously derived from English usage—*Arms,* for example, from English inn names, and *Court, Hall,* and *Manor* from names of English dwellings and estates. In these elements, then, as even more markedly in other elements of the names, Americans are seen turning to British life for connotations of prestige and security.

The 'non-generic' elements of the names have several main sources. A good proportion of those elements comes from the names of streets and localities. Parkside Avenue and Popham Avenue have a *Parkside Arms* and a *Popham Arms. Brooksonia Hall,* in Brooklyn, and the *Waltona,* on Walton Avenue in the Bronx, exhibit suffixal developments of some interest.[4] Contrasting social tones are suggested in *Hopkinson Manor* and *Hopkinson Street Flats,* on Hopkinson Avenue. *Cranlyn* alludes to Cranberry Street, Brooklyn, while *Crestburn Ct.* does the same service

3. *Terrace* has a following also as a 'non-generic' element, as in *Terrace Arms, Terrace Gables,* etc. Ten such examples are listed for the city.

4. Cf. *Benesonia, Luxonia, Vorsonia Ct., Bensonia, Saxonia, Clintonia, Wilsonia, Bostona.*

for Creston Avenue, the Bronx. *Kingsbridge Vanity Ct.* is a curious concoction from the Kingsbridge section of the Bronx. The *Southern Gardens* is on Southern Boulevard of that borough.

Personal given names contribute another large class. It is no longer the fashion to employ given names, however, and they are likely to be found on houses of older vintage and more modest economic level. The motive in their choice seems to be the celebration of some person cherished by the owner. Feminine names are in the majority:

Ada Apts.
Amelia Apts.
Adelaide Apts.
Anita Ct.
Audrey Arms
The Bertha
Elaine Hall
Mabelle Ct.
Clementina Ct.
Florence Towers
Anastasia Ct. Apts.
Cecile Arms
Babette
Clara Ct.
The Dolores Arms
Hilda Apt. House
The Mollie
Mary Arms
Agatha Ct.
Gloria Apts.
Veronica Arms
Ines
The Edeth
Molly Arms
Gladis Ct.
Joan Arms

The Shirleys seem to be more beloved in Brooklyn than in all the other boroughs put together; at least eight apartment houses bear the name in that borough, including the *Shirley Arms,* the *Shirley Ct.,* and *Shirley Terrace.* Sometimes a name appears in familiar form, as in Brooklyn's *Goldie Arms, Gussie Ct., Dolly Ct.,* and *Beckie's Ct.,* and in the Bronx's *Katie Ct.*

Masculine names include *Aaron,* listed three times, and *Arthur,* listed nine times, besides *Harold Towers, Adolphus Ct., Elmer Ct., Ethelbert Ct., My-Alan Ct.,* etc.

Sometimes a surname is perpetuated, as in *O'Ban Ct., Leverich Gardens, Murrie Manor, Gold Central, Kaplan Ct., Sipberg Ct., The Brennan, Kaitz Plaza, D'Alessio Ct., Zatin Ct., Rossoff Terrace Apts., The Borchardt, Leibman Manor, Hochroth Arms,* and *Ziskin Ct.*

Some examples are apparently synthesized from elements of personal names:

Annawill Apt.
Fanrae Apts.
The Fanlea
Fredoris
Mil-Vio Arms
Marleo Apts.
Edgarton Apts.
Meyeron Hall
Rusyl Ct.
Maranamay
Natwille Apts.
Belilian Ct.
Lill-Rose Towers
Rosesmith
Lenpaul
Lenru Apts.
Loumoore Apts.
Louwar Ct.
Benrich Ct.
Julmyr Ct. Apts.
The Ruthmore

Gertnette Ct.	*Betty-Gene Apts.*	*Sylvian Ct.*
Bescelia Arms	*Annamere Ct. Apts.*	*Jolily Arms*
Raljoed Ct.		

The veritable rhapsodic note is sounded in *Mariangel Ct.*, while *Blanch-Artment* achieves a verbal telescoping worthy of *Finnegans Wake.*

A large group of names depends for its appeal on what may be denoted as romanticism derived from artistic, historical, or exotic associations:

Herodian Ct. Apts.	*Campanile*	*Dante Apts.*
Martinique	*The Sybil*	*The Ivanhoe*
The Cortez	*Electra Apts.*	*Bermuda Apts.*
Balboa Apts.	*Goya Apts.*	*Polimnia Ct.* (sic)
Bolivar	*The Mona Lisa*	*Homeric*
The Albania	*Alegro* (sic)	*Stonehenge*
The Brittany	*Endymion Apts.*	*The Salome*
Caledonia	*Abelard Apts.*	*Semiramis*
Jupiter Ct.	*Alhambra*	*Brunhilda Apts.*
Riga Arms	*Barcelona*	*Romolus* (sic)
Tuileries	*Acadia*	*Carmen Apts.*[5]

The romance of the otherwhere may account for some American place-names: *Idaho, Arizona Ct., The Montana* (and *The Montanna*), *Montauk Arms* (and *Montaulk Apts.*). Indian names strike another romantic theme: *The Algonquin, Onondega Hall, Paumanduk.* Some of the latter look like paleface creations: *Pocahona Arms, Kan-A-Wah Ct., Ocklawaka.*

In this 'romantic' group too may be placed the scattering of miscellaneous names claiming some relation to one or another of the Latin tongues:

La Teresina	*Del Rae*	*Palais Royal*
La Rosa	*El Rialto*	*Chateau Apts.*
Bella Vista Apts	*El Verano*	*Le Rose*
Providenzia Ct.	*El Casco Ct.*	*Le Fan*
Alta Crest	*Parc Vendome*	*Chateau di Armes*
Nel Rey Towers	*Le Jardin Apts.*	

Especially piquant are some forms in the French of Bagdad-on-the-Subway. Brooklyn and the Bronx have a *La Fountaine* each. The logic of *La Jeannette, La Lorraine,* and *La Belle* is relentlessly carried on in Broadway's *La Joan.*[6]

5. The predecessor of Polk's directories, *Trow's General Directory of the Boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx,* has in its 1904 edition the extraordinary *Memnononium.*

6. *Trow's General Directory,* 1904, has a *La Paris* and a *La Anne.*

In another direction, allusions to American history are not infrequent: *The Jeffersonian Apts., Alexander Hamilton, John Alden, Peter Bronk, Marquette, George Washington Studios.* Of all American heroes Lincoln seems to be most admired by apartment-house owners. The Emancipator's name appears sixteen times on the Brooklyn list, though, curiously, only five times on the Manhattan-Bronx list. But Brooklyn's devotion to patriotic figures is normally mixed with other impulses, cultural and prestige-seeking. Thus on Eastern Parkway within the space of a half-dozen blocks are apartment houses named *Abraham Lincoln* and *Thomas Jefferson,* twin houses called *Lancelot* and *Elaine,* a *Tudor Hall,* and a

Madcastle Hall
. . . Rooms
Cross Ventilation
Electrolux Refrigeration.

Some names allude to natural features of the location, whether with poetic license or not. Brooklyn lays great stress on the ocean, with *Ocean Castle, Ocean Crest, Ocean Queen, Ocean Towers, Ocean View* (3), *Ocean Ct. Apts., Oceanic, Oceanic Apts., Ocean Ct., Oceanus,* and *Oceanview.* The *Beau Rivage* is on West 94 Street, Manhattan, the *Riviera* on Riverside Drive. The *Hillcrest* is in the middle of a slope on Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, the *Braeside* on East Tremont Avenue, the Bronx. A view of Bailey Avenue, the Bronx, is vaunted in *Bailey View Ct. Apts.* Ten houses named *Grand View* are listed for the city. Some others of the *view*-formula are *Long View, Lawnvue Hall, Rockview, Strand View, Venezia View, Ideal View Apts.,* and *Superview.* The *Broad View* is across the street from the Barnard College dormitories. *Clear View* might have been imagined by Walter Lippmann. In *Santop Arms* ancestral voices call from a peak in purified ozone. In *Dashview* we seem to see the transition from the symbolic level to the phatic.

Another kind of name spares no directness in declaring some aspect of the superiority of the residences concerned:

Patrician Ct.	*Freedom Ct.*	*Elite*
De Luxe Apts.	*Ultra Ct.*	*Glory Ct.*
Hygrade Arms	*Invincible Cts.*	*Historic Hall*
Winsome Ct.	*Loyal*	*The Model*
Placid Hall	*Eclat Ct.*	*Model Fireproof*
Up-To-Date Ct.	*Elegant Arms*	*Tenements*

Here too might fall the many names with *Royal,* such as *Royal Crown, Royal Court, Royal Grand,* etc. *Ark Arms* and *Pendent Hall* of Brooklyn may not belong in this category.

Some names elude classification: *Balconade, Mother Jones, Adora, The Nib, The Star, Dreamwold, Dreamland Apts., Holy Rood Ct. Apts., De Corinthien Apts.* (sic), *Jade Ct., Sael, Counsel Apts., The Nestledown, Remark Ct., Smithsonian Ct.* Perhaps *Argot Ct.* is Brooklyn's tribute to pure phonetic beauty.

One group of names contains some illustration of 'the fact, which has of late years powerfully impressed itself upon philological students, that the creative period of language, the epoch of "roots," has never come to an end':[7]

Barmar Apts.	*Ancofein Ct.*	*Amorel*
Panmure Arms	*Penmar Apts.*	*Oradell*
Bonadell Arms	*The Ardnaree*	*Trevyllian*
Alco Ct.	*Di-Puma Apts.*	*Emival Apts.*
Anawan Apts.	*The Zaralib*	*Addic*
Ardemis	*Emahral*	*Empec Ct. Apts.*
Shirbar Arms	*Ruav Arms*	*Bermac Arms*
Shergold Arms	*Lesdon Ct.*	*Algonac Ct.*
Delmar Towers	*Colcor Ct.*	*Delmac Apts.*
Orvista	*El-Mora*	*Dalmac*
Harmor Hall	*Fonpenoy*	*Donac*
Anador Ct.	*Kiradro Apts.*	*The Alamac*
Aunawill Apt.	*Swannanoa*	

Considering names like the foregoing, one is led to the supposition that they are original exercises in euphony and—in ways that are obscure—pleasant suggestion. To be sure, there are apparent some types of elements previously noted. *Panmure Arms,* for instance, may reflect *Muriel,* and *Alco* may be based on the name of the owning company. Furthermore, names like *Alamac* and *Fonpenoy* suggest known words (*Alamo, Fontenoy*). Nevertheless, such allusions (if they exist) are dim in this group; suggestions of interest in sound are striking.

The attempt to attain a euphonious and happily suggestive name by some process of synthesis is not always successful—if an aesthetic judgment may be intruded. The worker may homeward plod, for example, to the *Verpitia,* the *Pestivil, Maneta Ct.,* the *Rauracia,* the *Rechcansie,* the *Decemia Apts.,* the *Zeemol Arms, The Whail, Soro Ct.,* the *Soreco,* the *Sorofeen,* or *Renzol Ct.*

Not the least interesting phenomenon in the field of apartment-house names is the large and ever growing number of British and British-sounding names. To judge by these last, New Yorkers are rabidly Anglo-

7. *New English Dictionary,* Preface, p. viii.

phile. A recently built apartment house or 'development' (that is, group of apartment houses)—if it is named—is likely to be blessed with a name that pretends to some aura of Albion. Among the tony examples are:

Oxford Knolls
Renfrew
Pennington
Ascot Ct.
Ashford Apts.
Grosvenor Square
The Bradford
Isham
Hedburn Hall
Leanlane Ct.
The Devinshire (sic)
The Beauclere
King George Apts.
Arsdale Apts.
Malbridge Hall Apts.
Strathcona-on-the Hudson
Rottingham Ct.
Ardmore Ct.
Wellmore Apts.
Dorchester Gardens
Blakeshire Ct.
Moorbilt Arms
Dorset Apts.
Parbrook Hall
Balfour Arms
The Algrove
Braemoray Apts.
Ainsworth
Bankmore Ct.
Rexbury Apts.
The Elmore
Cragmour Apts.
Chatsworth Apts.
Tilbury Ct.
Cleburne Apts.
Apthorp
Windermere Ct.
Penrhyn
Wyndham Apts.
Armidale
Beresford Apts.
Beaconsfield
Brentmore
Chiselhurst
Chepstow
Invermere
Ivermere
Rossmore
Innis Fallen (sic)
Deanbrook Hall
Bonnie Brae Apts.
Bonny Castle
Lynwood Apts.
Sherwood Hall
Windsor Castle

The names *Windsor* and *Georgian* occur eleven times each in Polk's lists, and *Tudor* sixteen times. Brooklyn has an *English Village.* The residents of *Tudor City,* a large Manhattan apartment group, live without stifling in units called *The Cloister, Essex, Haddon Hall, Hardwick Hall, Hatfield House, Hermitage,* and *The Manor.* Another Manhattan nest bears the promising name of *Dartmoor.*

Examination of older directories shows that the proportion of 'British' names has greatly increased since World War I. The two examples of *Hohenzollern* in the 1917 directory, the *Germania,* the *Sans Souci, Joy Terrace,* the *Hoe Crest* (on Hoe Avenue), and the *Ideal Bronx Ct.*—such examples tend to be replaced by *Heathcote Hall, Pomander Walk,* etc. This trend is resisted, however, by public housing projects, which assume names derived from the localities in which they are situated or names of noted persons.

What determines the choice of a particular 'British' name? It seems likely that most of these names are chosen, not for any referential value, but again for phonetic effect—for the exercise of vocal spell; further, that a good number are fetched newborn out of a mysterious well of syllabic

resources considered 'high class.' If these suppositions are correct, these 'British' names furnish a considerable body of material for the study of syllables for their values of prestige as well as of mellifluousness.

The 'British' names fall into three groups. In the first are names well known in British geography, history, literature, or upper-class life: *Pembroke, Kenilworth, Mayfair Towers, Mowbray Apts., Hampton Ct.* The second group are names that are more obscure in England: *Ardsley Apts., Brentwood, The Moreland, Ashford Apts., Brantingham, Barrington.* In speculating on the motive for the choice of names in these first two groups we must take into account the fact that some of them occur as place names in this country. (It is possible, however, that a name used in one of the countries, or both, has been independently created—or randomly recalled—by the owner of an apartment.) Finally, there are names which, beyond doubt—or almost beyond doubt—are synthetic. At any rate, some inquiry has not revealed any established use of examples like *Dorriton, Graymark, Mowill, Overdeane, Chadsworth,* and *Worthmore.*[8] This last one, in fact, looks like an attempt to combine *bon ton* with self-laudation.

To put the matter otherwise: In choosing *Bracebridge Hall* the owner of that property may very well have had Irving's book in mind. It is possible that the person who selected *Devonshire* did so as a tribute to pleasant memories of that county. It is less likely that *Axton* alludes to the small town in Virginia by that name. It is highly probable that *Arsdale,* which is not traceable in encyclopaedia or atlas, is original art—or a 'random' recollection of an impressive personal name.

The observer is struck by the fact that some syllables occur with disproportionate frequency, e.g., as the first elements of names, *Kew* and *Ken;* and as final elements, *leigh, more,* and *wood.* The popularity of *Kew* must be seen in relation to the name of a section of Queens County, Kew Gardens. But there seems to be some special fascination in the syllable itself; it is otherwise impossible to account for the extraordinary addiction to it, as in *Kew Arlington Ct., Kew Beverly, Kew-Devonshire, Kew Gables,* etc. Altogether the Queens directory lists fifteen names employing *Kew*—possibly a record, considering the size of the area. Again, in noting the taste for *Ken,* one must remark the existence of a Kenmore Street in Brooklyn. But the street name alone cannot account for the fourteen *Ken*-names listed for Brooklyn and the twenty-two for the city

8. There is always the possibility that a given 'British' name is a surname—as of an owner. But several considerations weigh against the probability that such is often the case. For one thing, we are confronted with a considerable body of names that would be unusual as surnames.

as a whole. Nearby Hawthorne Street, for example, does not produce a similar crop of *Haw*-names.

Such considerations of place names do not enter into the final syllabic elements mentioned above—as they occur in, e.g.:

The Ardsleigh	*Marthmore*	*Delwood Hall*
Arleigh Apts.	*Raymore Ct.*	*Briarwood*
Cedarleigh	*Traymore*	*Elwood Apts.*
Charlesleigh Apts.	*Ardmore Ct.*	*The Fleetwood*
Brysleigh Hall	*Filmore Gardens*	*Beechwood*
The Stanleigh	*Dinsmore Towers*	*Blythwood Apts.*
The Morleigh	*Glenmore Apts.*	*Earlswood Ct.*
Rossleigh Ct.	*The Ruthmore*	*The Rosewood*
Elsleigh Hall	*Billmore Apts.*	*Aultwood Arms*
Cherleigh Apts.	*Blechmore*[9]	*Rotherwood*

While the syllable *Bel* (also spelled *Bell, Belle*) as a first element does not enter as a strictly 'British' phenomenon, its popularity is so marked that it deserves attention even in a cursory consideration of syllable popularity. The hypnotic power of *Bel* may be judged from the following extract from the Manhattan-Bronx directory:

Belford	*Belle Claire Ct.*	*The Belmar*
Belgrade	*The Belleclaire*	*Belmont Ct.*
Bell Apts.	*Bellefonte*	*Belnord Apts.*
Belle DeBue	*Bellehaven*	*Beltana*
The Bell Guard	*Bellemore*	*Belvedere*
Bellacourt Apts.	*The Bellfair*	*Belvedere Apts.*
Bella Vista Apts.	*Bellport*	*Belvedere Ct. Apts.*
Belle Ct.	*Bellport Apts.*	*The Belvedere*
The Belleaire	*Bellrose Apts.*	

Finally, certain spelling preferences are notable. The muteness of the mute *e* in *Roslyne* and *Rivercliffe,* for example (occurring together with *Roslyn* and *Briarcliff Hall*), is perhaps eloquent of bowers. (On the other hand, there is some tendency to streamlined forms in *mor,* as *Lenmor Apts., The Jonmor.*) The letter *y* as a surrogate for *i* also seems to have some potent message; alongside *Alwin, Berwin, Franklin,* and *Caroline* we find *Alwyn Ct., The Berwyn, Franklyn,* and *Carolyn* (five of the last in the Manhattan-Bronx list); likewise *Berwyck* (in contrast to the con-

9. An unlisted Brooklyn name that looks like a merger of *-more* with *Blechman* or *Blechstein.*

ventional spelling *Berwick*) and *Bellayr*. These elegancies of *e* and *y* are combined in *Rockclyffe*.

Considering these apartment-house names all together, one has found the prominent convention of the forms in *Court, Arms,* and *Hall,* and to a lesser degree in certain other so-called generic terms. Prominent among the 'non-generic' terms are personal names, names of a 'romantic' character, names rooted in American history, and synthetic names composed of elements of which the source is not always ascertainable. There might be further inquiry into the processes that are followed in the creation of the several types of synthetic names. Finally, 'British' names, both borrowed and synthetic, attract special notice because of the vigor of their efflorescence.

The general interest of these apartment-house names is that they constitute a species of word magic that might be compared to verbal charms. Thus the names furnish material for the study of concepts of euphony and suggestion that is often remote from denotation.

QUERIES

A. W., Chicago, inquires concerning the word *dichty* in Lillian Smith's *Strange Fruit* (Chapter xiii, page 207): 'She's been afraid he wouldn't remember he's ever seen her before. . . . Hardly any of them *dichties* ever noticed her or remembered her, or bothered to remember to speak to her.' He could find it in no dictionary.

[*Dichty* is probably the same word as *dicty,* 'haughty, arrogant, dictatorial,' which is chronicled in the *Thesaurus of Slang.*—Ed.]

Doris Whiteside inquires whether one would say *'sweet tooths* to be satisfied' or *'sweet teeth* to be satisfied.'

A student from Nebraska City, Nebraska, says that the Italian name *Corso* is used there for streets running north and south. He asks whether this is a unique usage in the United States.

'When Paul Mallon wrote in his newspaper column, April 6, 1945, ". . . the whole pretentious concept of our idealism for postwar continues to break up, *knick by knick,* upon the rocks of solid earth," should he not have written *nick by nick?*' asks another correspondent.

'CANOODLE'

B. J. WHITING
Harvard University

Once a week the neighboring women met in one kitchen or another to knit together. They would establish a working rhythm by repeating,

'Little canoodle,
Big canoodle,
Take out your canoodle,
Let me see your canoodle,
Compare your canoodle with mine.'

'Canoodle' apparently meant the knitting needle. One wonders from what foreign or forgotten word it came. Apparently the women's work rhymes in Maine were all of this primitive sort, for years ago Mrs. Hardy gave me this weaving rhyme:

''Tis one,
'Tain't one,
'Twill be one by-'n-by.'

The quotation is from Elizabeth Coatsworth's delightful collection of Maine sketches, *Country Neighborhood.*[1] Although the locality of *Country Neighborhood* is not precisely identified, it is clearly in or near Damariscotta ('Dam-is-cotta'), Lincoln County, and we are informed that the first 'rhythm' was current 'fifty or sixty years ago.' Because of my own close association with a part of Maine not more than fifty miles from Damariscotta, I was greatly interested in *Country Neighborhood* and especially in this piece of traditional free verse. The 'rhythm' itself was unfamiliar, but the theme word I recognized, though not as a noun and certainly not in any sense connected with or allied to the art of knitting. To 'canoodle,' as it became vicariously known to me some thirty years ago, was to effect, or perhaps to keep effecting, a co-ordinated exchange of relatively innocent amorous gestures between two persons of opposite sex. More exact definition is difficult, because of the variations inevitable in individuals and situations. It had slightly stronger force than 'spoon,' and was probably driven out of use among the younger and verbally less conservative set by the fairly synonymous 'pet' and 'fuss'; how it stands in relation to 'pitch woo,' 'smooch,' and 'neck,' I do not feel qualified to judge.

The lexicographical history of the word is curious. H. L. Mencken lists it among 'genuine inventions and redolent of the soil,'[2] and yet it does not appear in the earlier standard dictionaries and word lists of Ameri-

1. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944, p. 178.
2. *The American Language* (4th ed., New York, 1936), p. 142.

canisms.[3] My investigation, which I hardly venture to term exhaustive, shows the word first in Albert Barrère and C. G. Leland's *Dictionary of Slang, Jargon & Cant:*[4]

Canoodle, to (English and American), to fondle, pet, dally, bill and coo.

I meet her in the evening, for she likes to take a walk
At the moment when the moon cavorts above,
And we prattle and canoodle, and of everything we talk
Except, of course, that naughty topic love.

—*Bird o' Freedom.*

Possibly from 'cannie,' gentle.[5]

Barrère and Leland also give:

Canoodler (American), explained by quotation.

'Pray, good sir, what is a canoodler?'

'Tell you, mum, queer business, mum, but prosperous, money—heaps of it, mum, for you and me,' and he winked significantly, jerked up a chair and squatted in it, all in a breath. . . . Undeterred, he rattled on: 'I'm an original thinker, mum. Invent business opportunities. Share 'm with actors, and then we canoodle—divvy the profits. Me and Sheridan made a big thing on the Japanese advertising screen in "School for Scandal." Big thing.'—

—*Green Room Jokes.*[6]

John S. Farmer and W. E. Henley's *Slang and its Analogues*[7] has a more ambitious entry:

Canoodle, *verb* (American)—1. To fondle; bill and coo; indulge in endearments. —*See* Canoodling. [There are two suggested derivations—(1) from cannie in sense of gentle, and (2) that the primary signification may have been to 'act as a noodle,' *i.e.* to play the fool.] For synonyms, see Firkytoodle.

1864. G. A. Sala, *Temple Bar,* Dec., p. 40. He is adept in that branch of persuasive dialectics known as conoodling. He will conoodle the ladies (bless their dear hearts! and how sharp they think themselves at making a bargain!) into the acquisition of whole packages of gimcrack merchandise.

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3. It is not found, for example, in the following books: John R. Bartlett, *Dictionary of Americanisms* (4th ed., Boston, 1889); M. Schele de Vere, *Americanisms; the English of the New World* (2nd ed., New York, 1872); John S. Farmer, *Americanisms—Old and New* (London, 1889); James Maitland, *The American Slang Dictionary* (Chicago, 1891); Sylva Clapin, *A New Dictionary of Americanisms* (New York, [1902]); R. H. Thornton, *An American Glossary* (Vols. I-II, Philadelphia, 1912; III, ed. Louise Hanley, Madison, Wisconsin, American Dialect Society, 1939).

4. 2 vols. (London), Ballantyne Press, 1889-1890.

5. I, 223. *The Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada* (ed. W. Gregory, New York, 1943), gives *Bird o' Freedom* as a Sydney periodical which apparently ended with its 155th number in 1893. The British Museum Catalogue lists under *Bird o' Freedom* (here among London periodicals), *Curried Fowl, A Selection of Choice Morsels from 'The Bird o' Freedom'* (London, 1880), and it is more than likely that the quotation comes from this volume. The periodical and *Curried Fowl* are not available to me, but there would not appear to be anything American about them.

6. I, 223. I have been unable to find any other reference to *Green Room Jokes,* except in later dictionaries, and while the title is a plausible one for an ephemeral publication, neither it nor the language of the quotation seem particularly American.

7. 7 vols., London, 1890-1904.

1879. *Punch,* March 15, p. 117, col. 2. 'Our Representative Man.' Then he and the matchless one struggle, snuggle, and generally conoodle together rapturously. Then the matchless Ecstasy being the wife, not of the Chevalier, but of Charles VI, King of France, she, this impulsive, loving, beautiful, hugging, conoodling young Ecstasy, has the cool impudence to declare that theirs is a 'guiltless love.'

2. (Oxford University).—To paddle or propel a canoe.

1879. E. H. Marshall, in *Notes and Queries,* 5 S., xi., 375. When I was an undergraduate at Oxford, to canoodle was the slang expression for paddling one's own canoe on the bosom of the Cherwell or the Isis.

3. (American theatrical.) To share profits.

18(?). *Green Room Jokes*

[Quotation as in Barrère and Leland, including the. . . . after 'all in a breath.']

4. (Common).—To coax.

[No examples.]

Canoodling, *verbal subs.* (American). —Endearments.

1859. Sala, *Twice Round the Clock,* 11 a.m., par. 8. A sly kiss, and a squeeze, and a pressure of the foot or so, and a variety of harmless endearing blandishments, known to our American cousins (who are great adepts at sweet-hearting) under the generic name of conoodling.[8]

Canoodle as a noun appears in Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary:*[9]

Canoodle, *sb.* Som. A donkey; also applied to persons.

w. Som. *N. & Q* (1879) 5th S. xi, 197. e. Som. Used also *fig.* of one who makes love foolishly or 'spooneys' (G.S.) [Not known to our correspondents in w. Som.].[10]

The Supplement (1933) to the *New English Dictionary* enters the verb:

Canoodle, *v. slang.* (orig. *U. S.*) Also conoodle. [Origin obscure.] *intr.* To indulge in caresses and fondling endearments. Also formerly *trans.* to persuade by endearments. Hence Canoodler, Canoodling *vbl. sb.*

The first three quotations are those from Sala and *Punch,* already found in Farmer and Henley, and there are five others (the latest 1921), all from English sources.

Eric Partridge's *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*[11] has a comprehensive entry:

Canoodle, v.t. and i. Fondle; bill and coo. Coll. Orig. (—1859) U.S., thoroughly anglicised by G. A. Sala in 1864. Perhaps ex *canny,* gentle, on *firkytoodle;* but cf. the Somersetshire *canoodle,* a donkey, which may be noodle (fool) intensified. —2. Also as n., though *canoodling* (Sala, 1859) is more gen. —3. To coax, from ca. 1870; ob.

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8. II (1891), 27-28; the definitions, without examples, appear in the abridged edition, *A Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial English* (London, 1921), p. 87.

9. 6 vols., London, 1898-1905.

10. I (1898), 509. G.S. is G. Sweetman (see I, xiv). Ernest Weekley, *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* (London, 1921), clearly relies on Wright: 'Canoodle [slang]. A dial. word (Somerset) for donkey, "spoony." Perh. in current sense vaguely associated with *cuddle*' (p. 245).

11. New York, 1937.

—4. At Oxford University, ca. 1860-1870, to propel a canoe. By a pun on *canoe*. —5. To make off: c. 20; ob. Manchon.[12]

The *Dictionary of American English*[13] has very little to add:

+Canoodle, *v. slang*. Also conoodle. 1. *intr.* To indulge in caresses or endearments. 2. *tr.* To coax or blandish by caresses or endearments. 3. *intr.* (See Canoodler).

Under 1 the first quotation is the 1859 Sala and a second from Bret Harte's *Stories in Light and Shadow* (1898); under 2 we find the 1864 Sala, credited to Farmer, and a second from Bret Harte's *Three Partners* (1897); under 3, *Canoodler,* is the familiar *Green Room Jokes,* credited to Barrère and Leland, but now dated *a* 1897.

We must observe that, despite the confident use of +, which, according to the Explanation . . . of Symbols, 'indicates that the word or sense clearly or to all appearance originated within the present limits of the United States,' the four examples which the *DAE* gives of *canoodle* are either from an English author or from an author of American birth who had lived outside the United States since 1878 and in Great Britain after 1880.

Finally *canoodle* is entered twice in Lester V. Berrey and Melvin Van den Bark's *American Thesaurus of Slang*,[14] as synonymous with 'Fondle; caress; pet,'[15] and ' "Pet"; "neck" ';[16] while *canoodling* is equated with 'Caressing'[17] and ' "Petting"; "necking," ';[18] and *canoodlers* appears under 'Lovers; pairs of lovers.'[19] The student who desires more ways of expressing the operations suggested by *canoodle* will find them in lavish profusion on the pages cited in the last few footnotes. In the necessary absence of information to the contrary, we may suspect that the appearances of *canoodle* and so forth in the *Thesaurus* are due to one or more of the dictionaries from which we have already quoted.

By far the most distinguished author to use the word is James Joyce:

But old grum he's not so clean dippy between sweet you and yum (not on your life, boy! not in those trousers! not by a large jugful!) for someplace on the sly where Furphy he isn't by old grum has his gel number two (bravevow, our Grum!) and he would like to canoodle her too some part of the time for he is downright fond of his number one but O he's fair mashed on peaches number two so that if he could only canoodle the two, chivee chivoo, all three would feel genuinely happy, it's as simple as A.B.C., the two mixers, we mean, with their cherrybum chappy (for he is simply shamming dippy) if they all were afloat in a dreamlifeboat, hugging two by

12. P. 124. The last reference is to J. Manchon, *Le Slang* (Paris, 1923), where (p. 78) *canoodle* is marked F ('familier') and translated 'déguerpir, filer.'
13. I, part iv, 1938, p. 412.
14. New York, 1942.
15. P. 337.
16. P. 783.
17. P. 336.
18. P. 782.
19. P. 396.

two in his zoo-doo-you-doo, a tofftoff for thee, missymissy for me and howcameyou-e'enso for Farber, in his tippy, upindown dippy, tiptoptippy canoodle, can you? Finny.[20]

On the basis of the evidence from the dictionaries it would be possible to make a fairly good case against *canoodle* as an original Americanism. Its earliest appearances, under the variant spelling *conoodle,* are in the writings of a British journalist, and the only certainly American author quoted had lived long in England before he wrote the stories in question.[21] In 1859 George Augustus Sala had never been in the United States, but he doubtless had many American acquaintances.[22] He was in this country for the first time in 1863-64 in his well-known role of special correspondent, and while he managed to find means to enrage a majority of the inhabitants of the Northern states,[23] he had little to say about peculiarities of American speech.[24] We might find it easy to think Sala's ascription of *canoodle* to 'our American cousins' no more accurate than many another statement which he was to make in his long and prolific journalistic life.[25] There is a temptation, then, to urge that a Somersetshire dialect word, of unknown origin, signifying 'donkey' came to mean 'love-maker'—a not unnatural extension—then became a verb signifying 'to make love,' was taken up by a journalist who, ignorantly or out of playfulness, chose to label it an Americanism, and by his usage gave it currency among his wide public and by his statement caused the lexicographers to label it of American birth. This reasoning does not discount the use of *canoodle* in the United States, since many English slang words have been gladly adopted by the American cousins.

Today *canoodle* is at least obsolescent. I had not heard it in years be-

20. *Finnegans Wake* (New York, 1939), p. 65. I owe this reference, of course, to my friend and colleague Professor Harry T. Levin.

21. It is significant that canoodle is not to be found in R. L. Ramsay and F. G. Emberson's *A Mark Twain Lexicon* (University of Missouri Studies, XIII, 1 [1938]). That the *DAE* should bring Sala and Harte together is not without its little irony: Harte had taken patriotic offence at some of Sala's writings and once publicly refused to 'shake hands with "that scoundrel" ' (Ralph Straus, *Sala, the Portrait of an Eminent Victorian* [London, 1942], pp. 178-9).

22. For one American family among his friends, see Strauss, pp. 120, 131.

23. Not only was he openly sympathetic with the South, a supporter of slavery, and contemptuous of Lincoln, his party and his army, but his non-political comments were in the most traditional British vein: 'The American is naturally a ladies' man, for he is naturally kind-hearted and simple-minded. He is always dangling and foozling after women; he is not only patriotically vain-glorious, but personally the vainest and most conceited creature it is possible to imagine' (*My Diary in America in the Midst of War* [2 vols., London, 1865], II, 351).

24. See *My Diary,* I, 181, 196, 371, for examples of 'Yankee locutions.'

25. We must admit, however, that Sala, on the occasion of a second visit to the United States in less contentious times (1879-80) seems to have introduced the word *boom* in its political sense to English; see Straus, p. 230, and *NED, s.v.* boom, *sb.*[3] 2. Sala's general contribution to standard English might well be a subject of investigation for someone who proves able to take Sala in large doses; see Straus, p. 30.

fore coming upon it in the knitting 'rhythm,' and inquiries among people over forty disclose that while some recognize it at once, others claim, no doubt truthfully, to remember the word but to have forgotten its meaning, and still others declare roundly that they never heard or used it. The younger generation, as a rule, have no knowledge of the word. Out of one hundred and seventy undergraduates, both male and female, who were questioned, only twenty-seven made any attempt to define it. Of these twelve said that it meant 'head,'[26] and among miscellaneous definitions or comments were 'fool who did not know what he was talking about';[27] 'nit-wit, dunder-head';[28] 'from Elizabethan drama —horse play, fooling around'; 'wasting time by fooling around'; 'I think it refers to the nose and the term noodle is derived from it';[29] 'I think as a child I heard the word canoodle used as a synonym for "bunkum," "horse-radish" '; 'I have the impression it means to "hood-wink." I believe I heard it in Maine, but am not certain'; 'to wangle something';[30] 'may well be derived from the Jewish dialect—some sort of biscuit, probably.' Only six knew it in its standard sense: 'I have a vague recollection of an older person, of my father's age, using this to refer to "spooning," or, as it is now known, "smooching" '; 'sounds familiar . . . related to and contemporaneous with "spoon" '; 'I think it is a slang term for love-making'; 'petting'; 'neck'; 'necking in a canoe.'[31] In no case does the word appear to have been part of the informant's ordinary vocabulary.

We may now return briefly to the quotation with which we began. The knitting 'rhythm' certainly places *canoodle* as a noun in American usage before, probably well before, 1900. The use of the word there, however, hardly offers very definite and exact assistance in establishing its origin and development. It is hard to accept it as meaning knitting needle, and, indeed, one might be pardoned for hesitating to believe that the 'rhythm' came into existence, or was much in use, in any kitchen full of Maine women at their knitting. Perhaps we must wait for some member of the school of new semantics to give us light on the problem.

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26. Several connected it with *noddle,* invariably spelled *noodle.*

27. From a student who had received secondary education in England, and so may have picked up the sense given by Wright.

28. No doubt under the influence of *noodle.*

29. The ease with which *noddle* becomes *noodle* suggests that *noddle* is rather out of use.

30. Perhaps equivalent to 'coax' in the dictionary definitions.

31. A scholar of English birth tells me that it was used for love-making in a canoe at Cambridge, where, he hints, much of that sort of thing went on. A quotation from 'Marjoribanks' ' *Fluff-Hunters* (1903), p. 49, given in the Supplement to the *NED,* reads: 'Though each couple occupied a skiff, they used it for purposes of canoodling.' Of two of my other colleagues of British origin, one knew the word and the other did not. English people in general give the impression that they consider the word more common at home than here.

A POSSIBLE CLUE TO THE SOURCE OF 'BALLYHOO' AND SOME QUERIES

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WHERE did the word *ballyhoo* in the sense of a barker's spiel, noisy advertising, etc., come from? On page 188 of the fourth edition of his *American Language* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936), Mr. Mencken summarized three explanations: (1) It is connected with the name of Ballyhooly, a village in Cork County, Ireland. This explanation is given by Webster's *NID* (1934) and by Eric Partridge's *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1937). (2) It was a blend by circus people of *ballet* and *whoop*. (3) It originated on the Midway of the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 and was an imitation of the cry of dervishes in the Oriental Village, *b'allah hoo,* meaning 'Through God it is.' But Mr. Mencken accepted none of these explanations, for on page 191 of his book he listed the word among a group whose origins were yet to be discovered. All three bore to him the marks of being popular etymologies.

I should like to suggest, as Eric Partridge very tentatively does under *ballyhoo,* that a search into seamen's talk might lead toward an answer to the question.

A possible clue I find in Melville's *Omoo* (1847), in a passage in Chapter 76. An Irish sailor is warning two men against shipping on the vessel that he is on: 'And it's *shipping* yer after, my jewels, is it? . . . thin arrah! my livelies, jist be after sailing ashore in a jiffy. . . . Be off wid ye, thin, darlints, and steer clear of the likes of this ballyhoo of blazes as long as ye live. They murder us here every day, and starve us into the bargain.' By 'ballyhoo of blazes' the speaker meant an outcast ship, a pariah.

The ship from which the sailors developed their derogatory 'ballyhoo of blazes' is the ballahou (ballahoo, ballyhoo), a fast-sailing, two-masted vessel, rigged with high fore-and-aft sails, much used in the West Indies. The foremast rakes forward, the mainmast aft. The word apparently took a long time to make its way into the dictionaries. I find it first in the *Imperial Dictionary of the English Language* by John Ogilvie, revised by Charles Annandale (London: Blackie and Son, 1882). Thence it passed to the Century Company's American reprint of the *Imperial Dictionary* in 1883; from there to the *Century Dictionary* (1889). It is in Webster's *International Dictionary* of 1890 and in Funk and Wagnalls'

Standard Dictionary of 1893; and of course it is in later editions of both of these. It is not, however, in the *NED* or in the *NED Supplement.*

Two dictionaries, Webster's *NID* of 1909 and the *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia* of 1911, derived the word from Spanish *balahú;* and the *Century,* going one step further, derived the Spanish from Carib *balahua,* which it thought might mean 'sea.'

The unusual appearance of the ship, with masts raking in opposite directions, caused speakers to apply the word to any lubberly, untrim, or slovenly ship; and this secondary meaning is found in some of the dictionaries, the earliest that I have seen being the *Century Dictionary* of 1889. The long form *ballyhoo of blazes* turns up in Frank C. Bowen's *Sea Slang* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, and Co., [1929]) and is there called 'the last word of contempt for a slovenly ship.'

To sum all this up, two facts stand out: (1) The first is that there was in the nineteenth century a West Indian ship of specific design called a *ballahou.* (2) The second, and for this study the more important, is that since the 1840's the term *ballyhoo of blazes* or *ballahoo* could be applied to any ship, either because, as in *Omoo,* sailors before the mast scorned or hated it; or because, as many of the dictionaries say, it was slovenly, ill-conditioned, or lubberly. In other words, at any time during the last hundred years, if you wished to speak of a ship with derision, you could call it variously, either a *ballahoo* or a *ballyhoo of blazes.*

So much for the facts and the possible clue. Now for some queries. Does anyone know whether in seamen's talk *ballyhoo* could have been applied derisively or derogatorily to other things? For instance, could a dirty kitchen on a ship have been called a *ballyhoo of a galley?* Could a raggedly dressed sailor have been called a *ballyhoo of a man?* or a crazy story, a *ballyhoo of a yarn?* or wild talk *a ballyhoo of words?* Affirmative answers to these questions would come close to solving the problem of the origin of the present meaning of the word.

It is pertinent to add here that since the 1890's some dictionaries record *ballyhoo* (variously spelled) as one or another kind of fish. In Funk and Wagnalls' *Standard Dictionary* of 1893 the word, under the spelling *balahoo,* was listed as meaning in the West Indies a halfbeak. In *Austral English, a Dictionary of Australasian Words, Phrases and Usages,* by Edward E. Morris (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1898), is the following: 'Ballahoo, n. A name applied to the *Garfish* . . . by Sydney fishermen. The word is West Indian, and is applied there to a fast-sailing schooner; also spelled *bullahoo* and *ballahou.*' According to Funk and Wagnalls' *Standard Dictionary* of 1913, *ballahou* is used in Australia for the halfbeak.

Because the dates of the fish-meanings follow close upon the dates of the ship-meanings, one cannot be sure that the fish-meanings are derived from the ship-meanings; they may in fact be earlier.

But if the fish-meanings actually are derived meanings, then we have dictionary-entries as evidence that in two English-speaking areas of the globe the word had already by 1893 begun to break from its moorings. Did it in nineteenth-century sailor English break loose in another direction and head toward its present American meaning? That is the question.

For helpful reference work in connection with this note, I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Charles E. Funk of the Funk and Wagnalls Co., to Dr. John P. Bethel of the G. and C. Merriam Co., and to my colleague Mr. Jack Dalton of the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia.

JOTTINGS

Christopher Morley in the *Book-of-the-Month Club News* (October, 1944) speaks of 'a social historian who knows that our precious *boloniana* are also of political importance' and also of 'writers . . . more important than a dozen *shelfstayed* historians.' A sentence or two farther along he comments on 'The first genuine attempt since Bryce to understand the more intimate *howcome* of American emotions and behaviors.'

'Death Story Is a Leader in *Readership*' heads an item in the *Editor and Publisher* for March 3, 1945, concerning an obituary of Radio Commentator Boake Carter in the Pittsburgh *Sun-Telegraph*.

An advertisement of the National Writers Club, 1945, under the heading '*Shorticle* Bureau Makes Sales,' cites a letter, 'Please accept my thanks for the sale of my Shorticle "What Plant Names Say."'

Horace Walpole: Gardenist is the title of a Princeton University Press volume, 1944.

A United Press special by Walter Rundle, July 14, 1944, says: 'There was a new word among the men who fly these Superforts for this miracle of comfortable high altitude flight—*"pressurization."*'

Shapened is another double past participle, to be added to *awe-strickened, mistakened,* and *soddened,* mentioned in preceding issues of *American Speech.* In *Pills, Petticoats and Plows,* by Thomas D. Clark (1944), we find: '. . . rows of glacial stones outline an infant grave [in the rural South] over which a drowsy *ill-shapened* lamb keeps heavy-eyed watch.'

THE SPEECH OF SPICEWOOD, TEXAS

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SPICEWOOD, a very small town about forty miles northwest of Austin, was settled more than a hundred years ago by people who fought in the Texas Revolution. It has been isolated from any considerable communication with rather near-by towns until comparatively recent times. Even now one must go by way of unimproved mountain roads in order to get there from any direction. From Austin one must in addition be ferried across the Pedernales River.

The speech of Spicewood is what is often termed the 'hill-southern' type, having most of the traits of ordinary Texas speech, but being peculiarly characterized by an extremely retroflex *r*, the preservation of numerous archaisms, and the total lack of any main features of plantation-southern speech.

My material is based on the speech, both as sampled by phonograph recordings by a number of informants of various ages and as observed in the natural conversation of Spicewood citizens. In this paper I enumerate the features in which Spicewood speech differs from General American (GA), giving special attention to deviations from East Texas speech, as set forth by Mr. Oma Stanley.[1]

VOWELS

[e]: Mr. Stanley records [æᴵ] for *ant,* with [eᴵ] as a variant. My records also show a pronunciation of *ant* as [eᴵnt].

[ɛ]: Both GA [ɪŋ] and GA [æŋ] appear in Spicewood speech as [ɛᴵŋ]: *I drank water out of the spring* [a drɛᴵŋk wɔt̬ɚ æət̬ə ðə sprɛᴵŋ]. For GA [ɪ] one hears [ɛ] in *literature* [lɛt̬ɚtjʊɚ] and *picnic* [pɛknɛk].

[u]: The phonetic quality of this phoneme in Southern American speech is in general [ü^{u}]. For Spicewood speakers it is of a central variety which moves backwards: *food* [fü^{u}d], *school* [skü^{u}l], *boot* [bü^{u}t]. No monophthongal variety occurs unless it is rapidly spoken or without stress: *I have two cows* [a hæv tu kæəz].

[o] occurs for [ʊ] in *woman* [wo˞mən], for [ɑ] in *want to* [wo˞ntə]. The word *on,* which in GA speech is pronounced [ɑn], in Texas and especially in Spicewood speech is usually [ɔn], but under full stress it frequently occurs as [o^{ʊ}n]. For instance, as in *come ón* [kʌm 'o^{ʊ}n] and *he fell right ón it* [hi fɛl raᴵt 'o^{ʊ}n ɪt]. Even when it is unstressed it may

1. Oma Stanley, *The Speech of East Texas (American Speech: Reprints and Monographs,* II), New York, Columbia University Press, 1937.

appear as [oᵘn] or [on]: *The bird is on the wing* [ðɪ bɝd ɪz on ðə wɛɪŋ].

[ʌ]: Besides *put, took,* and *soot,* which are pointed out by Stanley as having [ʌ] for GA [ʊ], I also find *good* [gʌɹd], *could* [kʌɹd], *would* [wʌɹd], and *cook* [kʌɹk]. *Want,* which Stanley found to be pronounced as [wɔnt] or [wɑnt], I find most frequently as a centralized reduced form [wʌnt], possibly because it is often used as an auxiliary pro-word: *I don't want to go* [a dõ wʌ̃nt̪ə goᵘ]. I do not hear *stood* [stʌd] nor *shook* [ʃʌk] as in East Texas, but [stʊd], [ʃʊk].

[ə] appears with the *r*-coloring in words ending in [o] such as *fellow* [fɛlɚ], *window* [wɪndɚ], *hollow* [hɑlɚ], *potato* [tetɚ], etc., as was noted by Stanley, and in numerous proper names ending in *a: Emma* [ɪmɚ], *Lelia* [lilɚ], *Stella* [stɛlɚ], *Ina* [aɪnɚ], etc.

[aɪ] appears as [aᴵ], [a:], or [a] in Texas speech. *I* and *my* are commonly heard with [a], as most students of speech agree. I do not find *nice, bind, kind, mind, bite* with the monophthong, as in East Texas, but as a diphthong with the second element extremely light. On the other hand, I hear *science* [sa:ᵊns], *try* [tra:]: *try to do it* [tra: t̪ə du ɪt]. I also hear *child* [tʃa:ᵊl], *while* [ʍa:ᵊl], and *style* [sta:ᵊl].

[aʊ] shows raising and fronting of the first element and centralization of the second. The first element is lengthened and the second is extremely light. Phonetically it is [æ:ᵊ]. It appears in such words as *proud* [præ:ᵊd], *mouth* [mæ:ᵊθ], *how* [hæ:ᵊ], *about* [əbæ:ᵊt], *scouts* [skæ:ᵊts], *out* [æ:ᵊt], etc. I found it nowhere pronounced [æʊ], as Mr. Stanley has it recorded.[2] I can imagine it appearing as such only in the speech of meticulously careful Texas speakers.

[ɔɪ] appears with the first element of a rather unrounded quality and with its second element slightly pronounced. Words containing this phoneme are as follows: *destroy* [dɪstrɔᵈɪ], *noise* [nɔᵈɪz], *boy* [bɔᵈɪ], *join* [dʒɔᵈɪn], *oil* [ɔᵈɪl], etc.

CONSONANTS

1. *Loss.* Initial *d* is lost in unstressed and intervocalic position in the nasalized form of the expression *I don't know* [ã õnt nõʊ̃]. Initial *g* is lost under the same circumstances in *I'm going to* [ãmə̃nə̃]. Initial [w] is unvoiced and seems lost in an idling *well* at the beginning of a sentence. This occurs especially where there is no hesitation, but very weak stress: *Well, not altogether* [ɛl nɑt ɔltəgɛɹðɚ]. *Well, I thought you liked it* [ɛl a θɔtʃu laɪkᵗ ɪt]. Loss of *t* occurs in the syncopated combination *Let us see* [ɛs:ii]. Loss of medial [j] occurs in *royal: They wouldn't be getting*

2. Here the difference between Mr. Stanley's findings and mine is probably one of symbol rather than sound.

drunk and having a royal time [ðe wʊdn bi gɪtn drʌnk ɛn hævɪn ə rɔəl taɪm].

2. *Addition.* [j] appears between [h] and a high front vowel in *here* [hʲɪɚ] and after [n] in *near* [nʲɪɚ]. [h] often appears at the beginning of certain words when emphasized. Besides *hit* and *hain't* for *it* and *ain't,* I find *hyonder* for *yonder: it just* [hɪt dɪs], *ain't* [heɪnt], and *down yonder* [dæən hjɑndɚ]. Intrusive [p] appears in *something* [sʌmpθɪn]. Additions appear in rebuilt grammatical forms. Although Spicewood people say [kraɪs] for *Christ* [kraɪst], when they come to forming the possessive, they *know* [kraɪsɪz] is wrong, so they say [kraɪstɪz]. They frequently use the past participle for the preterite of a strong verb and vice versa. However, when they use *taken* in the preterite they often go on to pattern it after weak verbs and say *takened* [tekənd].

3. *Elisions.* Elisions in words and word phrases in Spicewood speech are numerous. I find the following: *wasn't no* [wɑno], *going to* [gonə], *go to the* [goθə], *there would* [ðɛɚd], *it is awful* [tsɔfəl], *I'm going to* [ãmə̃nə̃]. Elision of syllables occurs in the following words: *Carolina* [kɛlaˈnɚ], *president* [ˈprɛzˌdɪnt], *material* [mətɪrəl], *particularly* [pətɪkəlɪ], *furniture* [fɚntʃɚ], *probably* [prɑblɪ].

4. *Metathesis.* In Spicewood *handkerchief* is usually [hæˈntʃəkəf], showing metathesis of [k] and [tʃ]. One informant, with regard to my given name, said to me, 'My little girl can say *Carmelita* [kɑləmiṭə] just as good as I can.' Here we see the interchange of [l] and [m]. The word *tarviate,* with a reduction and re-expressing of the vowel *i,* goes from [tɔɚvɪe:t] through [tɔɚve:t] to [tɔɚɪveɪt]. *Pedernales* [pɛ̣ðɛrnɑlɛs] (the name of a river, meaning 'flint rocks'), with strong articulation of [r] and the unvoicing of [d] goes through [pɛ̣ḍɛrnɑlɛs] and [pɛtərnælɪs] to [pɚtɪˈnælɪs]. Metathesis of [r], often mentioned in connection with such pronunciations as *children* [tʃɪldɚn], *perspire* [prɛspaɪɚ], etc., is really just the reducing and re-expressing of [ɚ],[ər] as [rə] or the restating of a syllabic [r],[ər] as [rə],[rɛ].

5. *Miscellaneous.* For *Mrs.* neither GA [mɪsɪz] nor formal Southern [mɪzɪz] is heard. It is pronounced Southern [mɪz] or more frequently [mɪzrɪz]. The latter form is also used elsewhere in Texas among the less literate classes. Whether the appearance of [r] in [mɪzrɪz] comes from the old pronunciation [mɪstrɪs] in which the [s]'s have become voiced after the [t] has been lost, I can not say. It may be that through some trick of the imagination they think they are really pronouncing the written form 'm-r-s.'

The loss of medial *t* in *started* is a real elision, but it is in a strange position. The word is pronounced [stɔɚɪd]: *Some fellow started that up,*

you see [sʌm fɛlɚ stɔɚɪd ðæt̬ ʌp jə sii]. I believe this pronunciation is frequently used among the more careless speakers of Texas—as for instance, in *you started it* [ju stɔɚdɪt].

It just has been discussed under 'Addition.' Here I am interested particularly in the pronunciation of *just.* In this combination the first phoneme, [dʒ], is unpalatalized: [hɪt dɪs]. In the same manner, one sometimes hears [juzlɪ] for *usually* instead of GA [juʒjuəlɪ]. Here with the reduction and elision of the second syllable containing the [u] sound, the [ʒ] becomes unpalatalized because the factors conditioning palatalization have disappeared.

The [s] in *terrace* [tɛrɪs] is palatalized to [ʃ], [tɛrɪʃ]. For *crystal* [krɪstəl] one hears [krɪstʃəl], and for *Corpus Christi* [kɔɚpəs krɪstɪ] one hears [kɔɚpəs krɪstʃə], possibly because of the influence of *Christian* [krɪstʃən].

6. [r]. Preconsonantal and final *r* is considerably retroflex. It is more strongly articulated than the West Texas or plantation-southern preconsonantal and final *r.* For example, in the sentence *I hear Martin* [a hɪɚ mɔɚtən], both *r*'s would be strongly articulated. This *r* is seldom weakened and rarely omitted.

There is heard as [ðɛ] or [ðe] so often in syncopated combinations like *there was* [ðɛəz] and *there is* [ðe:z] that apparently *they* has come to be used for *there* [ðæɚ], even when not in such combinations. For instance, *Are there a pencil on the table?* [ɔɚ ðe: ə pɪnsl̩ on ðə tebl̩].

An intrusive *r* often occurs in preconsonantal position after back vowels in such words as *hush* [hɝʃ], *ought* [ɔɚt], etc. In the same position *r* appears in *wash* [wɔɚʃ], as was noted by Mr. Stanley.

I do not notice any great difference between linking-*r* and final *r.* For example, in *their* and *their ice* the *r*'s are of practically the same quality.

7. [l]. In contrast to East Texas speech, [l] before [j] is extremely dark, as in *Lillian* [lɪɬjən]. [l] may be lost before [d] in *told: I told her the other day* [a tod ɚ ðɪ ʌðɚ deɪ].

8. *Odds and Ends.* When a certain speaker wished to say that the country was 'sparsely settled' or that there were only a few families 'scattered out' in the country, he said the country was 'scatterly settled' [skætəlɪ sɛtəld].

For *unless* [ənlɛs], 'lessen' [lɛsən] often appears.

TRANSCRIPTION

As a sample of Spicewood speech, I present parts of a transcription of a recording of *Horace,* a test piece written by Miss Katherine Wheatley of the University of Texas for the study of Texas speech. The speaker is a fifteen-year-old girl, who was born and raised in Spicewood and who

was attending the Spicewood High School. She speaks in a slow tempo, even in ordinary conversation, which increases the otherwise normal lengthening and diphthongization of vowels.

. . . hɛlo wɔltɚ| ʃi sɛᵊd| hæə ɔɚ jüᵘ|| hɛlo| sɛd wɔltɚ| aɪ dɪdnt nou ju wɚ ɪn skü ᵘl| a θɔt ju wɚ in foɚt wɚθ|| . . . bəfoɚ ʃi kud æɪnsɚ| wɔltɚ rɪmɛmbɚd hɔɹɪs hæd ɪntɚdjust hɪᵊm|| ðe wɪnt ɪntu ðə drʌg stoɚ ɛ̃n hæd sʌmθɪn tə dreɪŋk æɹt ðɪ sodɪ fɛ̃ɛ̃ntn|| lɪɬjən hæd ɔ̃ɚndʒ dʒüᵘs æn hɔɹɪs hæd ə tʃʌklɪt mɔltɪt mɪᵊlk|| ðɪn ðe wɪnt draɪvɪn ɪn wɔltɚz foɚd| ðæt wəz bɪfoɚ hi gat hɪz njüᵘ ʃɪvɚleɪ|| . . . lɪɬjɔ̃n wəz ɔfᵊlɪ mæᵊd|| ʃi dɪdnt kæɚ ʍat ʃi sɛd|| ʃi færlɪ ʃæə̣ɪd| hɪɚ a æm ɪn ðə mɪ̣təl əv noʍɚ wɪð ə nɔɚðɚ kʌmɪn ʌp ɛ̃n ə fɔg raɪzɪn|| av mɪs mə treɪm tüᵘ|| . . . hi hæd ðɪ kɔɚ toᵘd tu e gərɑdʒ tə hæv ðɪ bæ̣tərɪ rɪtʃɔɚdʒd|| hi æst ðɪm tu grɪiz ðə kɔɚ tüᵘ|| . . . vədʒɪnjəz pærənts lɪvd ɪn mɪmfɪs tɪnəsɪi|| . . . hi θɔt hi hæd nɛvɚ hæd ə tʃæɪns|| hi wɔnṭɪd tə teɪk ə kɔɚəspɑndəns koɚs| bə̣ɪ kutnt əfoɚd ðə fɪi|| ɪt kɔst fɔrtɪ foɚ dɑləz|| . . . ðe hæd ə bɪg blæk læn fɔɚm| bət ðɪs jɪɚ ðə krɑp wəz puɚ|| ðe hæd bɪn ə bæd dræət| ɛ̃ɛ̃n pɔɚt əv ðɪ taɪm ðæɚ wɑznt iven ɪnʌf wɔtɚ fɔɚ ðə stɑk|| ðɪ pɑnz æn bɑgs hæd dra:d əp|| hɔɹɚs kutnt kɛtʃ ĩnĩ moɚ frɔgz|| hi laɪkt frɔg leɪgz|| hɪz fɑðɚ hæd sɛd jɛstɚdeɪ ðæt ðe maɪt bi lʌkɪ ɪf ðe dɪdnt stɔɚv|| hɔɹɚs θɔt hiəd rɛðɚ stɔɚv ðɪn ɪit ĩnĩ mo poɚk sɔsɪdʒɪz ən hæəm|| hi wɑz taᵊd ə vɛʒtəbəls tüᵘ|| ðe hæd kɔlɪflæɚz| ən kæbɪdʒ ən tɚnəps| ən spɪnɪʃ ɪn ðɪ gɔɚdn|| hɔɹɚs dɪdnt laɪk spɪnɪʃ|| ðe hæd ʌnjənz| ən rædɪʃɪz ən lɛtɪs tüᵘ|| hɔɹɪs dɪdnt laɪk ʌnjənz ɪðɚ| n̩ hi nɛvɚ eɪt ɪnɪ kaɪnd əv sælɪd|| sʌmtaɪmz ðe hæd kɔɚnbrɛd ən sælɪd foɚ dɪzɚt|| hɔɹɚsɪz fɑðɚ kɔld sɚəp məlæsɪz|| ɛvɚ wʌns ɪn ə ʍaᵊl hi ʃʌt ə skwɚl ɔɚ ə dɔg| bət juzlɪ hi hætə ɪit sɔsədʒ ɚ hæᵊm æn sæəs|| sʌmtaɪmz ðe hæd eɪgz| bət nɑt ɔftən|| ðe hæd lɔst ə gud mɪnɪ tʃɪkɪnz|| hɔəks ətæktɪd ðɪᵊm| æn pɑsəmz gat ɪntu ðɪ tʃɪkɪn kup| tə seɪ nʌθn əv ðɪ hʌŋgrɪ nɪgɚz wɪθ ðɛɚ hæŋkrɪn fə tʃɪkɪn stju|| sʌm əv ðə kæəz wɚ draɪ| ən ðe dɪdnt hæᵊv mʌtʃ mɪᵊk||

DIALECTAL MODIFICATION OF STANDARD ENGLISH WORDS

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WHILE recognizing the cardinal importance of London speech in the rise of Standard English, we should be mindful of the influence of the other dialects in determining the form and pronunciation of many of our most common words. Certain examples are well known to all students of the English language: *busy,* for instance, has the pronunciation to be (historically) expected but displays a Western (or Southwestern) form; *bury* derives its form from the West, its pronunciation from the Southeast of England—Kent and its environs. The purpose of this paper is to present a fairly complete list of Standard English words of native origin which have undergone such dialectal modification.

The etymologies used here are those of Skeat and of Weekley, collected by means of a careful checking through of their etymological dictionaries, supplemented occasionally by examples (noted in each instance) gleaned from the excellent etymological material in H. C. Wyld's *Universal Dictionary of the English Language.* A few place-names revealing dialectal modification have been included, but no attempt at completeness has been made in that direction. The etymologies are those given in Eilert Ekwall's *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names,* Second Edition.

I

In London and the East Midlands as well as in the North, OE *y* was unrounded to *i,* and the forms with *i* are usually found in modern Standard English, as in *hill* from *hyll* and *dizzy* from *dysig;* but in Kent and its environs, including part at least of Suffolk, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex, we find *e* instead. (This localization is that made by Mr. J. P. Oakden on a 'Map to illustrate certain Dialect Boundaries with special reference to the 14th century' inserted in the first volume of his *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English.*) This Kentish *e* (as we may call it) appears in a considerable number of Standard English words of native origin:

bellow < *bylgean*
dent < *dynt*
ember (days) < *ymbryne*
hemlock < *hymlīce*
keeve < *cȳf*
kerf < *cyrf* (Wyld)
kernel < *cyrnel*
knell < *cnyll*
left < *lyft*
merry < *myrge*
ream < *rȳman*
service (tree) < *syrfe*
shelf < *scylfe*
unfledged < *unflycge*
whelk < *hwylca*

In two words a following *r* has lowered the *e* to *a:*

charlock < *cyrlic*

start < *styrtan*

though in the latter instance ON *sterta* as a possible source of ME *sterten* should be noted. A possible Kentish modification is to be seen, also, in the following:

berth < *gebyrd*

kelp < **cylp* (ME *culp, culpe,* later *kilpe*)

smell < **smyl* (ME *smil, smel, smul*)

evil < *yfel*

The last example is usually explained as resulting from a lengthening of *i* to *e* in the Middle English period. There is a possibility, though, that it is really Kentish, its widespread use being due to the education of preachers in early times at Canterbury.

Place-names, by no means limited to Southeastern England, can likewise be cited:

Berechurch, earlier *Berdechirche* (in Essex) < *byrden* 'of boards' + *cirice*

Bericote (in Warwickshire) < *byrig* + *cot*

Bernwood (in Buckinghamshire) < *byrgen* 'burial mound' + *wudu*

Berrington (in Gloucestershire) < *byrig* + *tūn*

Berry Pomeroy (in Devonshire) < *byrig*

Berrynarbor (in Devonshire) < *byrig*

II

A Kentish pronunciation survives in a few words which in Modern English have a Western (or Southwestern) form:

burial < *byrgels*

bury < *byrgan*

Bury (place-name) < *byrig*

The Western *u* characterizes even more of our words than the Kentish *e:*

blush < *blyscan*

burden < *byrðen*

burst (n.) < *byrst* (Wyld)

busy < *bysig*

clutch < *clyccan*

crutch < *crycc*

cudgel < *cycgel*

furze < *fyrs*

hurdle < *hyrdel*

hurst < *hyrst*

murk < *myrce* (Wyld)

rush (n.) < *rysc*

shrub < *scrybb*

shut < *scyttan*

shuttle < *scytel*

spurt < *spryttan*

stub < *stybb* (Wyld)

sunder < *syndrian*

sundry < *syndrig*

thrush < *þrysce*

It should be remarked that *murk* is derivable also from ON *myrkr.* (*Thrust* clearly owes its origin to ON *þrȳsta.*)

In a half dozen words *o* has replaced *u:*

comely < *cȳmlīc* — *worst* < *wyrsta*
worm < *wyrm* — *wort* < *wyrt*
worry < *wyrgan* — *hornet* < *hyrnet*

In the first of these we have only the scribal practice of substituting *o* for *u* before a minim. In the next four the rounding tendency of the initial *w* must be taken into account. For *hornet* the forms found between 1350 and 1550 (*harnette, hernet, hornette*) suggest the possibility of Kentish influence (with later substitution of *o* for *a*?).

Other possible instances of Western *u* are:

dun < *dynian* 'din'
huddle < *hȳdan* 'hide'
put < *þȳtan*
thud < *þyddan* 'strike'

Some place-names:

Rudge (in Gloucester, Shropshire) < *hrycg*
Rudgwick (in Sussex) < *hrycg* + *wīc*

The geographical distribution of such place-names may have some significance, but it is manifest that too great importance must not be attached to it.

III

In a scheme for dialectal analysis set forth in his *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English,* Mr. J. P. Oakden draws up a list of forty-five dialect points. The sixteenth concerns the development of OE *ēa* when shortened. In the West, he believes, *ă* resulted, though it was later largely ousted by the Eastern *ĕ*. Place-names such as Radcliffe in Lancashire (< *rēade* + *clif*) lend some confirmation to his view. Others are:

Radley (in Berkshire) < *rēade* + *lēah*
Radmore (in Staffordshire) < *rēade* + *mōr*
Bampton (in Oxfordshire, Westmorland; Little Bampton in Cumberland) < *bēam* + *tūn*
Bandon Hill (in Surrey) < *bēan* + *dūn*
Banham (in Norfolk) < *bēan* + *hām*
Banstead (in Surrey) < *bēan* + *stede*

In addition a few common words show this Western *a:*

chapman < *cēapmann* (*chapbook, chap,* etc.)
chaffer < *cēap* + *faru*
lapwing < *hlēapewince*
lather < *lēaþor*

IV

South of the Thames OE initial *f* became voiced. This southern influence is demonstrable in three Standard English words:

vane < *fana*
vat < *fæt*
vixen < *fyxen*

Other possible instances are:

van (archaic) < *fann* (or from French *van*)
vang (nautical) < *fang* (or from Dutch *vang*)
verse < *fers* (or from French *vers*)

V

In certain pairs of Standard English words, such as *whole—hale,* we see the normal development of the vowel (*o*) in one form, the Northern development (*a*) in the other. Further examples are:

cole—kale (kail)
lord—laird
road—raid

This Northern *a* was once common in a number of preterites which are now archaic:

bore—bare
broke—brake
drove—drave
spoke—spake, etc.

Two other possibilities are:

no—nay (ON *nei* is a more likely source for the second)
pole—pale (F *pal* is a more likely source for *pale*)

VI

Over forty years ago in his study *Scandinavian Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch* George T. Flom made the point that such words as *mirk, sark, kirn, brig,* and *rig* are not necessarily derived from Old Norse. Old Northumbrian will do equally well. More recently Ekwall has designated the Ribble-Aire valleys, cutting across Lancaster and York in a rough continuation of the Humber, as the line below which OE *c* was palatalized. Above this line it kept its character of *k*. Thus *dike* and *kirk* may be just as much native forms as the more southerly *ditch* and *church;* even the *k* of *kettle* may represent a purely native Northern *k*. Other pairs are:

beseech—seek
bleach—bleak

chalk—cawk (geology)
chary—care
clincher-built—clinker-built
lichwake—lykewake (both archaic)
Winchester—Lancaster

Similarly *screed* is but the Northern variant of *shred,* and Burns's *brig* and *rig* are as native as the Standard *bridge* and *ridge. Drag* may go back to Old Northumbrian (rather than Old Norse) *draga,* and even *get* and *give* may turn out to owe less to Old Norse than is commonly supposed. See, for instance, the forms for *get* listed in A. S. Cook's *Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels.*

The primary purpose of this paper, however, was not to rescue English words from Scandinavian claimants but, from the stock of unquestionably native words, to pick out those which reveal a character they could hardly have derived from London English and to show, as far as possible, what dialect is in each instance responsible for the deviation.

'FOLKSTITIONS'

In the January, 1945, number of the *Egyptian Key,* a magazine devoted to Southern Illinois ('Egypt'), there appears an article headed 'Plant Folkstitions,' by Eva Oxford Gersbacher. In a boxed inset, the editors explain that they have coined the word 'folkstitions' as a term to cover various types of traditional material (customs, beliefs, remedies, and so on) frequently referred to as 'superstitions.' The editorial puzzle was: 'What to call all those things?'

A somewhat similar problem was solved about 100 years ago (1846) when the Englishman, William John Thoms, proposed the word 'folklore' to take the place of the then current 'popular antiquities.' The former term, now ubiquitous in its use, has the advantage over the new coinage, 'folkstitions,' at least in this respect, that it refers not only to the material itself—in all its ramifications—but also to the study of that material. Further to emphasize the matter in colloquial phrase, what has 'folkstitions' got that 'folklore' hasn't? It will be of interest to note reactions to the proposal advanced by the *Key.*

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PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION*

Radio program: American Forum of the Air, January 9, 1945. Topic: 'Do Present Methods of Education Fill the Needs of Returning Veterans?' Speakers: President Francis P. Gaines, Washington and Lee University; President Dixon Ryan Fox, Union College; President Stringfellow Barr, St. John's College; Chancellor Oliver C. Carmichael, Vanderbilt University; President Kenneth I. Brown, Denison University.

Dr. Gaines (the speaker was born in Due West, South Carolina, in 1892): ðə pruˈvɪʒnz əv ðə ˈdʒi aɪ ˈbɪl əv ˈɚɑɹɪts| baɪ ˈʌɪtʃ ˈmɛn ən ˈwɪmɪn nau ɪn ði ˈɑɹmd ˈfoəsɪz| meɪ ˈsʌbsəkwəntlɪ sɪˈkjuə ˈfəðə ˈtreɪmɪŋ æt ˈgʌvəmɛntl ɪkˈspɛns| ðou baɪ ˈnou ˈminz ˈlɪmətɪd tu ˌɪnstɪˈtjuʃnz əv ˈhaɪə ˈlənɪŋ| ˈbrɪŋz tu ˈɑuə ˈkaləʤɪz ən ˌjunɪˈvɜsəɹɪz| eɪ ˈgreɪt ɪnˈdɔsmənt əv ˌɛdjuˈkeɪʃən| eɪ ˈgreɪt ˌɑpəˈtjunəti| ænd ə ˈgreɪt ˈprɒˈblʌm|| ɪt ɪz ə ˈfɛɪɾ ən ˈfaɪn rəˈwɔd fə ðə ˈvɛtrənz ðəmˈsɛlvz|| eɪ ˌɾɛstəˈtjuʃən əz ˈfar əz ˈsʌtʃ ˌɾɛstəˈreɪʃən ɪz ˈpɒsəbl| əv ðə ˈjɪᵊz ʌɪtʃ ˈnɔ̃məlɪ wʊd əv bɪn ˈgɪvn tə ðə dəˈvɛləpmənt əv ˈpɜ>ɹsəˈnælətɪ ənd ˈkɑ̃ᵐpətənts|| bət ˈjɪəz ðət ɪn ˈɑuə ˈnæʃənəl əˈmɜ>ɹdʒənsi| hæv bɪn ˌɾɛkwəˈzɪʃnd fɔ ðə dəˈfɛns əv ˈɑuə ˈkʌntri|| ɪt ˈʃud bi əv ˈvæs: ˈsouʃl ˈbɛnəfɪt| tu riˈkæptʃə ət ˈlist ɪn ˈpɑɹt| ðə ˈmɑ̃dʒɪn əv ɪnˈlɑ̃ɹdʒmənt fɚ ˈɔl ðə ˈtælənts əv ðə ˈbɔɪz ənd ˈgɜ>ɹlz ˈnɑ̃ũ ɪn ˈjunəfɔ̃m| ðə ˈflɑuɚ əv ət ˈlist ˈtu ækəˈdɛmɪk ˌdʒɛnəˈreɪʃənz||

ðə ˈkaləʤɪz ɪkˈsɛpt ˈðɪs ˈgʌvəmɛntl pruˈvɪʒn əz ˈnɑ̃t ˈmɪəlɪ ən ˌɑ̃pɚˈtjunətɪ| bət əz ˈɔlso ən ɑ̃blɪˈgeɪʃən tə meɪk ðə ˈhoul ɪkˈspirɪəns ˈmous: ˈfrutful| əˈlaɪk fɔɚ ði ˌɪndəˈvɪdʒuəl| ʔænd fɔ səˈsaɪəti|| ˈðiz əˈmɛɚəkən ˈkalɪdʒɪz ɑɚ ʔæŋkʃəslɪ sʌˈveɪɪŋ ðɛ ˈprɛznt ˈɔfrɪŋz ən pruˈsidjuəz ɪn ˈtʌɹ:mz əv ðɪs əˈmẽns ˈprɪvəlɪdʒ ʔʌv ˈsɜɾ:vɪs|| ˈtu:naɪt ˈkalɪdʒ ˈprɛzədənts dɪsˈkʌs| ʍɛðə ðə ˈprɛznt ˈprougrəm ˈʌv ðə ˈkaləʤɪz| ɪz ˈædəkwət fə ðə ˈnidz ænd ðə ˈhoups ʌv ˈðiz ˈvɛtrənz|| . . .

Dr. Fox (the speaker was born in Potsdam, New York, in 1887): . . . ˈɛvrɪbadɪ ˈnouz ðə ˈkalɪdʒ ˌʃud ˈɔfɚ| ˈˈnou ˈkoɚsɪz tu ˈvɛtrənz ðət ɪt ˈkæn ˈnat dɪˈfend æz ˈvæljuəbl| ænd ɪn ˈwɜdz ˈðæt| ˈmoust ɪnˈtɛləʤənt ˈmɛn kən ˌɑndəˈstænd|| ˈɛvrɪbadɪ ˈnouz ˈˈtu| ðət wi ʃəd ˈnɑ̃t ˈtraɪ tə ˈput ˈfrɛʃmən ˈkæps əz ɪt ˈwɜɾ| ɔn ði ˈhɛdz| əv məˈtjuɚ ˈvɛtrənz əv ˈtwɛntɪ ˈfaɪv ɔɚ ˈtwɛntɪ ˈˈsɪks|| ɪn ˈʌðɚ ˈwɜrdz| ˈkaɹlɪdʒɪz ɪn ˈdʒɛnrəl ɑɚ əˈˈweɚ| ðət ɪn ˈpɚsənəl rəˈleɪʃənz| ðɛɪ ˈmʌs ˈtrit ˈʔɔl ˈvɛtrənz| æz ˈðou ðɛɪ wɚ ˈˈsinjəz||

ˈmɛni ˈkalɪdʒɪz ˌʔɑ prəˈpɛɚɪŋ tu ˈɔfɚ ˈsʌb ˈkalɪdʒ| ˈwɜk| tu kəmˈplit ðə ˈhaɪ ˈskul rəˈkwaɪɚmənts fɔɚ ˈmɛn hu ˈstɪl ˈhæv tu ˈfeɪs ðəm| æn ɑɚ ˈtu ʔould tə gou ˈbæk ən ˈsɪt wɪð ˈbɔɪz ən ˈgɜlz ˈeɪt ɚ ˈtɛn ˈjɪɾz ˈˈjʌŋgə||

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* The transcription was made from a phonograph recording of part of the broadcast.

aɪ 'mɛntʃən 'ɔl 'ðɪs tu 'ɪndəkeɪt ðət ɑ ˈˈprɛzənt 'mɛθədz 'ɑɚˌ iˈˈlæstɪk|| ʍat ˈˈmɛnɪ əv əs ˈˈfiɚ| ɪz ðət 'θru eɪ ˈˈbreɪk| eɪ kəmˈˈplit 'breɪk| ʌv ði ˈʔould 'ækə'dɛmɪk 'lɑk 'stɛp ðət wi 'hɪɚ sə 'mʌtʃ ə'baut| ju 'meɪ hæv 'nʌθɪŋ 'lɛft bət 'pænəki ænd kən'fjuʒən||

ˌpɜsə'nɛl 'wɜk| wɪðˌ ˌɪndə'vɪdʒuəl 'vɛtɚrənz| əd'vaɪzɪŋ ðəm hau tə 'fɪt ðəm'sɛlvz ɪntu ðə ˈˈdʒɛnrəl 'kalɪdʒ 'pætɚn| ɪz 'haɪlɪ ə'sɛntʃl|| bət ə 'kɑɬlɪdʒ ðət ə'tɛmpts tə 'trit ˈˈʔɛvri ˌɪndəˈˈvɪdʒuəl| æz ɪf hi wɚ ðɪ ˈˈʔounlɪ 'mæn ɪn ˈˈkɑɬlɪdʒ| wɪl 'nid| ʔɛkstrə 'miljənz ʌv 'mʌnɪ| ʍaɪl 'ðɪs ɪz gouɪŋ 'ɔn||

Dr. Barr (the speaker was born in Suffolk, Virginia, in 1897): sə'pouz wi wə ˈʔapɚeɪtɪŋ| ə 'sĭstəm əv 'lɪbrəl ˌɛdju'keɪʃn ɪn 'aᵘə 'kʌntrɪ| ðət wud 'hɛlp 'aᵘə 'jʌŋ 'mɛn tə bə'kʌm mˈtɛlɪdʒənt ənd rə'spɑ̃nsəbl 'sɪtəznz| də'tɜmənd ʔænd ˈʔeɪbl| tə 'gʌvɚn ðəm'sɛlvz 'waɪzlɪ|| 'aɪ əm ə'wɛə ðət wi ɑ 'nɑ̃t 'apɚeɪtɪŋ 'sʌtʃ ə 'sɪstɪm| bʌt ãĩ ɪm'vãĩt ju tə sə'pouz ðət wi 'wʌɚ|| wud 'ðɛə 'ðɛn bi 'ɛnɪ 'nid tə 'ɑsk 'ʍɛðə 'sʌtʃ ˌɛdju'keɪʃn| wud 'fĭl ðə 'nid əv ə 'vɛtərən|| 'sʌtʃ ˌɛdju'keɪʃn wud 'nɑ̃t kən'frʌnt 'hɪm wɪð 'frægməntərɪ 'tɪdbɪts əv pə'laɪt 'lɜ:nɪŋ|| wɪð 'wɔtəd 'daun hju'mãɛnɪtɪz|| wɪð ə 'wɛltɚ əv 'dɪskə'nɛktəd i'lɛktɪv 'kɔ:sɪz| ɔ wəð ðə ˌædo'lɛsənt 'moriz ə́v 'kãɛmpəs 'laɪf| ɪn ə 'mɒrən 'lɪbrəl 'ɑ:ts 'kalɪdʒ|| nɔ 'wud ɪt 'stap 'ʃɔət| wɪð 'gɪvɪŋ hɪm ʍʌtˈʔɛvə vo'keɪʃnəl ɔɚ 'tɛknəkl 'trɪks əv ðə 'trɛ:'d hi 'maɪt 'houp| wud ɪm'pruv hɪz 'ʔɜnɪŋ 'paʊə||

ju 'nou| 'tru 'lɪbrəl ˌɛdju'keɪʃn wud də'vɛləp 'ʔɪn 'hɪm| 'ðouz 'beɪsɪk ɪntə'lɛktʃuəl ˈˈskɪəlz ʍɪtʃ 'men 'wʌns 'kɔld ðə 'lɪbrəl 'ʔɑɬts|| ðə 'skɪlz əv 'ridɪŋ| ʌv 'raɪtɪŋ| əv 'spikɪŋ| ʌv 'lɪsᵉnɪŋ|| ɪt wud 'ðʌfoə 'gɪv 'hɪm 'hɪz 'bɛst ˈˈtʃɑ̃ns| ʌv 'feɪsɪŋ 'ðæt 'tɛrəfaɪɪŋ 'ʌn'noun| ðə ˈˈpoust 'wɔ 'wɜld| wɪð 'kʌrɪdʒ| 'sɛlfrə'laɪənz| ænd ˌvɜsə'tɪlɪtɪ|| ɪt wud 'gɪv hɪm hɪz 'bɛst 'tʃɑ̃ns tu ˌʔʌndə'stɛ̃nd ʔæt ˈˈlist| hɪm'sɛlf| ænd 'meɪbɪ tu ˌʔʌndə'stænd| ðə 'wɜld ðət 'meɪd hɪm ə 'vɛɬtərən|| ɪf wi 'nju 'hau tə 'gɪv ˈˈðæt 'kaɪnd əv ˌɛdju'keɪʃn| tə 'vɛɬtɚənz| wi wud 'nou i'nʌf| tu ɪn'sɪst ɔn 'gɪvɪŋ ɪt tu ˈʔɛvrɪ 'sɪtəzn| əv ə 'sɛlf 'gʌvənɪŋ sə'saɪətɪ||

Dr. Brown (the speaker was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1896): . . . 'ɑɚ 'prɛzənt 'mɛθədz ɑɚ ˈˈnat ˈʔædəkwət|| 'ðiz 'mɛθədz ə 'nat 'ædəkwət fɚ ðə rə'tɜnɪŋ ˈˈvɛtɚən 'ðɛ ə 'nat 'ædəkwət fə ðə rə'meɪnɪŋ sə''vɪljən|| 'ɪf hau'ɛvɚ wi 'min baɪ 'prɛzənt 'mɛθədz 'ðouz 'mɛθədz əv ˌɛdʒju'keɪʃn ʍɪtʃ 'ɑɚ tə bi 'faund| ət 'ɑɚ ˈˈstrɔŋgɪst ən 'ɑɚ ˈˈbɛst 'kalᵉdʒəz əv 'lɪbrəl ˈˈɑɚts| ðɛn aɪ 'θɪŋk ði 'ãɛnsɚ ˈˈmaɪt bi ˈˈjɛs|| prə'vaɪrəd ðət ə'lauɛns ɪz 'meɪd fɔ ðə 'nɛsəsɛɚɪ ˌmɒdəfə'keɪʃnz æn| ˌʔædæp'teɪʃnz| tu 'sut ði ˈˈʔɪnkrist 'eɪdʒ| æn ðə 'greɪɪɚ mə''tuɚətɪ əv ðə 'vɛɚən||

'duɚɪŋ ðə 'læst 'twɛnɪ 'faɪv 'jɪz ə 'sou ɪt 'simz tə 'mi wiv 'sin 'sʌmˌ ˈʔɪntrəstɪŋ ˌɪntrə'dʌkʃnz əv 'nu 'mɛθədz| ʍɪtʃ hæd 'bɪn ɪn'tɛndəd tə 'kɛɚˌ paɚ'tɪkjulələ fɔɚ ðə 'moɚ ˈʔeɪbl ðə 'moɚ mə''tuɚ| əv 'ɑɚ 'studənt

ˈgrup‖ aɪ ˈθɪŋk fɚ ɪkˈzæmpl əv ðə ˈprougræm əv ˈʔɑ̃nɚz ət ˈswɑθmoɚ ənd ˈɛlsˈmɛɚ‖ ɔɚ ðə ˈˈridɪŋ ˈpɪɚɪəd ʍɪtʃ ˈhɑɚvɚd əz ˈjuzd‖ ɔɚ ði əˈˈtɛmpt tu ɪn̰dəˈvɪdʒuəlaɪz ˌɛdʒəˈkeɪʃn‖ əz ˈfɑɚ əz ˈðæt kən bi ˈˈdʌn‖ ˈsʌt ˈmɛθədz əz ˈðiz‖ ˈˈsɜtnlɪ ˈhoʊld ˈˈprɑməs fɚ ðə məˈˈtjuə ˈmæn ən ˈwʊmən‖ hu ˈkʌmz ˈbæk tu ðə ˈˈkæmpəs ˈæf̰tə ði ɪkˈspɪrɪəns əv ˈmɪlətɛɚɪ ˈsɜvɪs‖ . . .

Dr. Carmichael (the speaker was born in Goodwater, Alabama, in 1891): ðə ˈprɛzənt ˈmɛθədz əv ˌɛdʒuˈkeɪʃn ɑ ˈfɑ frəm aɪˈdil ɪn ˈmitɪŋ ðə ˈnidz əv ðə ˈʔævrɪdʒ ˈʌndəˈgrædʒʊət‖ ðeɪ ˈsim tə ˈmi tə bi ˈˈstɪl ˈlɛs ˈædɪkwɪt tə ˈmit ðə ˈnidz əv ˈˈvɛɾtərənz‖ ˈtu ˈmʌtʃ əˈtɛnʃn tu ˈnɑnəˈsɛntʃl ˈˈditeɪlz‖ ˈlæk əv ˈækjʊrɪt ˈnɒlɪdʒ əv ˈfʌndəˈmɛntlz‖ æn ˈˈspun ˈfidɪŋ θru ðə ˈlɛktʃə ˈdrɪəl‖ ˌrɛsəˈteɪʃn ˈmɛθəd ɑr ʌnˈdaʊtɪdlɪ‖ ˈwɪknɪsɪz ɪn əˈmɛɾrəkən ˈhaeər ˌɛdʒuˈkeɪʃn‖ ˈʍaɪl ɪnɪˈfɛktɪv wɪð ˈʔɔl ˈstudnts ðeɪ meɪ bɪ dɪˈzæstrəs‖ ɪf əˈplaɪd tɔ ðə ˈvɛtrənz‖ ˈjɪᵊz əv ˈækʃn ənd ˈˈtreɪnɪŋ fəɾ ˈækʃn dɪˈvɛləpt ɪmˈˈpeɪʃns‖ wɪð ˈsʌtʃ ˈmɛθədz‖ əz ˈðoʊz hu rɪˈtənd tu ˌækəˈdɪmɪk ˈlaɪf ɪn ˈnaɪnˈtin ˈnaɪnˈtin‖ ˈfɒloʊɪŋ ðə ˈˈlæs ˈwɔ kæn ˈtɛstɪfaɪ‖ ˈboʊθ ðə ˈgreɪtɚ məˈtjuərəti əv ðə ˈvɛɾtərən ən hɪz ˈwɔ ˈtreɪnɪŋ æn ɪkspɪərɪəns‖ wɪl ˈmeɪk hɪm ʔɪnˈˈtɒlərənt əv ə ˈˈdʒuvɪnaɪl əˈproʊtʃ tu ˈlɜːnɪŋ‖ hiəl əv bɪn ˈduɪŋ sʌm ˈθɪŋkɪŋ fɔ hɪmˈsɛlf‖ ðə ˈskuɤz ənd ˈkɒlɪdʒɪz ˌmʌst ˈˈrɛkəgnaɪz ˈðæt ˈfækt‖ ænd ˈtʃælɪndʒ hɪz ˈbɛst ˈʔɛfəts ɪf ðeɪ ˈmit hɪz ˈnidz‖ ˈtɛkst ˈbʊks‖ ˈlɛktʃʊz ænd kuˈlætərəl ˈridɪŋ‖ ʃud bi ˈsʌplɪmɛɹntɪd baɪ ˈvaɪtl dɪsˈkʌʃn‖ ˈminz əv proˈvoʊkɪŋ ˈˈθɔt ənd ɪkˈˈspɾɛʃn ˈboʊθ ˈˈʔɔrəl ənd ˈrɪtn‖ ʃud bi ə ˈtʃɪf kənˈsɜɹːn əv ðə ˈtitʃʌ‖ ʌv ˈvɛɾtərənz‖ æn ˌʌnriəˈlɪstɪk æn ɪnˈdɪfrənt ˈætɪtud ɪn ði kənˌsɪdəˈreɪʃn‖ ʌv ˈfʌndəˈmɛntlz wɪl bi ˈˈkɒntræstɪd‖ wɪð ðə daɪˈnæmɪk əˈproʊtʃ əv ˈɑ̃mɪ ˈtreɪnɪŋ‖ . . . . . ˈgrædjʊɪt hu ˈkʌmz ˈˈʌp frəm ˌhae ˈskuɤ‖ fɔ ˈðæt ˈrizn aɪ bɪˈliv ðæt ðə ˈkɒlɪdʒɪz ʃud ˈweɪv ˈðɛɾə‖ rɪˈkwaᵉəmənts‖ wɪð rɪˈgɑd tɔ ði əˈmaʊnt əv ˈʔauəz ðət kən bi ˈteɪkn‖ proˈvaɪdɪd ðə ˈstudnt ˈʃoʊz ði əˈbɪlətɪ tu ˈdu ðə ˈwɜɾk‖ ənd aɪ ˈbɪliv ˈmɛnɪ əv ðəm ˈwɪᵊl‖ aɪ bliv ˈmɛnɪ əv ðəm wəl bi ˈʔeɪbl tu əˈˈkɒmplɪʃ ðə ˈfoə ˈjɪʌ ˈprougræm‖ ɪn ˈˈmʌtʃ ˈlɛs ˈtaem ðən ðə ˈʔævrɪdʒ ˈsɛvnˈtin ˈjɪr ˈould ˈbɔɪ ʔɔ ˈgɜɾl ˌkæn ˈdu‖

The transcription was prepared with the assistance of the following students in Phonetics at Teachers College, Columbia University: William Howle and Ralph Proodian.

EDITORIALS AND REVIEWS

SEA WORDS ASHORE

'SAILORS' TALK,' wrote W. Clark Russell in 1883, 'is a dialect as distinct from ordinary English as Hindustani is, or Chinese.' Who shall deny the gusto of the enthusiast? Nearly two centuries before, Ned Ward had claimed that the seaman couldn't have his tooth pulled ashore without carrying an interpreter. To the recording of this sea-lingo, a good many books have been devoted, from William Falconer's dictionary of 1769 to Gershom Bradford's *Glossary of Sea Terms* of 1942.

Miss Colcord, born at sea, raised on sailing ships, and a devotee of sea-songs and sea-talk, has here[1] attempted a more restricted but far more difficult task, to record as fully as possible those 'words and phrases developed at sea which have thereafter had some currency upon the land,' either figuratively or in different application. The book is in dictionary form, and its method is illustrated by these items:

DRY-SKIN. A whale with scarcely any blubber. Hence, in whaling communities, a man who leaves less property than was expected. (Cf. the British expression 'he didn't cut up well.')

DUCK (Dutch doek, German tuch, cloth). CANVAS, but particularly the light variety used for small sails, sea bags, hammocks, and sailors' warm-weather clothing. Similar goods are currently sold under this name ashore for garments and upholstery.

The list includes technical terms, nautical idioms, and slang, which in Miss Colcord's experience have gained some currency ashore; typical entries are *dandyfunk, laden, overwhelm, oilskins, head-wind, first-rate, filibuster, by and large, fathom, clinker-built, slick, slumgullion, palaver, taken aback.* Notes on non-standard pronunciations are occasionally added (e.g., *West Injies*), and a fair number of Pidgin English words, *chop-chop, joss-pidgin, allee samee, samshoo* (ardent spirits), and *chow.* And although Miss Colcord disclaims intent to list all the foreign names of goods that sailors have brought ashore, she includes *kedgeree, curry, cockroach,* and even *pronto, vamoose,* and *tattoo.* In addition, a few items of instruction are included on correct nautical usage: the use of 'boat,' the correct use of 'in,' the names of the points of the compass and their pronunciation, the forms of nautical address.

Miss Colcord is able to establish an important and often vital influence of sailors' speech on general English. Many of the most vivid of English idioms hark back to the sea: 'on one's beam ends,' 'cut up a dido,' 'hell to pay' ('and no pitch hot' completes the original sea-term), 'half seas

1. *Sea Language Comes Ashore.* By Joanna Carver Colcord. N.Y.: Cornell Maritime Press, 1945. ix, 213 pp.

over,' 'know the ropes,' 'pump ship,' 'three sheets to the wind,' as well as such unfamiliar items as 'gravy-eye watch' (which she thinks is the source of 'graveyard shift') and 'dead horse,' a term for outstanding debt (or, as I know it in British factories, for piece-work paid for in advance) which is said to derive from the practice on British ships of throwing overboard the effigy of a dead horse at the end of a month when advance wages had been worked off. Among the idioms which might have been added to the list are: 'tide over,' 'weather a storm,' 'touch bottom,' 'drop the pilot,' 'speak by the card,' 'tell it to the marines.' Besides the idioms, technical terms have often been adapted to shore use, particularly in the carrying trades, 'all aboard,' 'to ship,' 'freight,' 'berth,' 'charter,' 'tender,' 'ballast,' 'a run'; or the journalist's 'dogwatch,' the baseball player's 'on deck,' the flyer's 'pilot' and 'skipper,' and the general public's 'bilge' (nonsense), 'bucko,' 'dago,' 'locker,' and so on. One might add 'java' (coffee), 'fin' (arm), 'flipper' (hand), 'dead marine' (empty bottle), the last three being listed as sea slang by Francis Grose.

Miss Colcord is not a trained linguist; she writes 'strictly for fun,' and disarmingly admits to 'hollering Uncle!' in advance to any philologist, etymologist or lexicographer who should happen to fall afoul of her book. I have had a good deal of fun reading the book, and I don't wish to claim Miss Colcord as my niece. But, for the record, it is necessary to point out some of the defects of the book. They arise from weaknesses of method mainly.

The determination of whether a *sea* word has come ashore is a problem of history, and Miss Colcord doesn't tackle her subject historically. It seems more likely, for example, that 'fathom' or 'harbor' have gone to sea than that they have come ashore. The dilemma, of which Miss Colcord is not unaware, is apparent in her swashbuckling but double-edged remarks on 'Grub':

> Some etymologists say the word originated on the land; but how can they be so sure of this concerning a coined word, which goes back to no known roots? The fact that it may appear first in shore literature is neither here nor there—sailors produce little literature.

Many of the terms in the list are dubious as sea-terms: *spurlos versenkt* is surely journalistic; *togs, booze, sky pilot* are slang or cant; and any Australian would vigorously deny that *cootie* (louse) was a nautical loan during World War I.

It is not clear what 'ashore' means in this study; mostly it seems to refer to the coast of Maine, Cape Cod, and the whaling ports of Long Island Sound, with which the author is most familiar. Yet some of the words are termed British—*bar steward* (bastard), *bilge* (nonsense), *Fid-*

dler's Green—and most are general English. Consequently, it is uncertain whether the study is a regional or a general one; if it is intended to be regional, it goes out of bounds; if general, it is certainly very incomplete. There is no attempt to trace the subject historically, but occasionally an obsolete term is included, or an instance from Shakespeare. And to include such terms as 'antenna' because in Latin it meant a sprit or yard, 'between Scylla and Charybdis,' and 'mermaid' is to complicate a study already complex enough from its own nature.

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TOWARDS A DICTIONARY OF WAR LANGUAGE

MISS TAYLOR'S book[1] should be judged as a trial draft looking towards ultimate comprehensive treatment of its subject rather than as something finished. As such, it is a very useful compilation. Its usefulness might have been enhanced by the addition of blank interleaves; for immediately upon looking through it one begins thinking of marginal additions. Though it contains many of the most famous quotations and slogans of the war, up to the summer of 1944, gratifyingly documented, it was put together too soon to record such fine things as 'Nuts' (in reply to the ultimatum at Bastogne), and perhaps a dozen or so equally as fine but as yet unsaid.

The task of compiling a really exhaustive dictionary of war language will be most formidable, and cannot be completed for some years to come. The sources of information are world-wide and in many languages; voluminous records are yet to be compiled; numerous memoirs of fighting men will probably appear for the better part of a decade, or longer; and it is certain that *American Speech* will continue to print articles on war language long after the guns are silent. Meanwhile, such short works as *The Language of World War II* must serve as our current sources of information.

Three appendages facilitate the use of this little volume as a reference work: a list of war songs (surprisingly long), a bibliography of books cited, and an index of names. A more complete cross-reference system would assist the reader to discover such facts as, for example, that 'Hangman' Reinhard Heydrick (p. 33) was also less familiarly known as the 'Cobra' (p. 20); similarly, the more technical designation 'Point Rationing' needs a cross-reference under 'Rationing.' 'Blue points' and 'red

1. *The Language of World War II.* Compiled by A. Marjorie Taylor. New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1944. 94 pp.

points' do not show up in the list, nor do 'airplane stamps.' But such objections are anticipated in the Foreword, which contains a sentence that will stand as a fair judgment of the book: 'We realize that since the material relates to the present war, of necessity it cannot be complete at this time, but there seems to be enough included to answer a real need.'

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'MODERN GRAMMAR AT WORK'

THE IMPORTANT thing about *Modern Grammar at Work*[1] is that it is a handbook intended for college freshmen written by a teacher who is aware both of actual English usage and of the recent work of serious students of the English language. The day is passing when one assistant professor can put together a handbook from those of other assistant professors, all as ignorant of their mother tongue as only 'Ph.D.'s in English' apparently can be.

Miss Watts has observed English at work and she knows the real grammars of modern English and the special studies, even though she is not so fully guided by them as she might be. Her own selection among competing grammatical categories is on the whole simple and sensible. Some would object to her case system (nominative absolute, nominative dependent, possessive, and objective), but who can satisfy even himself on Modern English cases? The grammatical description is more complete than in most handbooks, and points of style are discussed as well as grammar and usage. The treatment of sentences is especially full and on the whole realistic.

Since a textbook of this sort is applied rather than pure science, the selection of the level of usage to be encouraged is a major problem. Miss Watts is handicapped by her definition of Standard English as 'the language used by that large number of intelligent and self-respecting people who take pride in using language well. For our purposes here, the term may be thought of as meaning much the same as good English, or, perhaps, the best English which a student may reasonably be expected to use' (p. 12). This makes a poor touchstone for the judgment of particular locutions.

In such judgments Miss Watts tends to hedge, either from her own taste or from the fear of conservative teachers that hangs over every textbook writer who would like to be realistic. She says of the subjunc-

1. *Modern Grammar at Work*. By Bertha M. Watts. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944. 432 pp.

tive: 'In [sentences like "She looks as if she *were* tired" and "O, if she *were* only here!"], many present-day users of the language would substitute "was" for "were," and the grammarian who takes into account the change now occurring in standard usage will not label the sentences wrong, although he may not approve of them and may prefer not to use them' (p. 216). A clearer distinction of levels of usage would make possible a more realistic judgment. Of *shall* and *will* she says: 'In colloquial speech most people use "will" and "would" in all three persons. . . . People who distinguish their "shall's" and "will's" with care, however, are not necessarily either quaint or highbrow; they have, by accident or design, learned how to make this nice distinction' (p. 212). Then follow the orthodox 'rules,' including use in questions of the form expected in the answer. (Other locutions for the future are not mentioned.) Throughout, the more informal usage is described but by implication at least it is discouraged and without a clear indication of the reason.

The style of the book is relaxed and unusually readable for a handbook, though it is rather old-fashioned and sometimes degenerates into a flabbiness no author-and-editor should subject a college freshman or any other reader to: 'Used with discrimination and with sufficient tact to avoid its likelihood of giving offense, a limited sprinkling of the more refined kind of slang in conversation is not unpardonable and may add piquancy to one's speech' (p. 16).

As a textbook *Modern English at Work* follows the usual convention of starting at zero, as though college freshmen had never heard of 'sentence' or 'pronoun.' (When will freshman English grow up?) The exercises for each chapter, slightly camouflaged as 'The Student Forum,' are fresh and often ingenious and penetrating. A few are presumptuous, like 'What is the relation between thought and expression?' which can hardly be answered on the basis of this book or any other. On the whole it would seem to be more adapted to the better grade of secondary school than to college use.

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'STUDIES IN SPEECH AND DRAMA'

THE ESSAYS which compose this volume[1] may be grouped by subject into four categories. The first category stands apart from the others. It contains but one essay, the late Hoyt H. Hudson's tribute to Professor

1. *Studies in Speech and Drama in Honor of Alexander M. Drummond.* Edited by Donald C. Bryant, Barnard Hewitt, Karl R. Wallace, and Herbert A. Wichelns, Chairman. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1944. viii, 472 pp.

Drummond. This tribute is excellent because it says what those of us who are friends, former students, and present or former colleagues of Mr. Drummond would want to say of him in recognition of his great talents as teacher, scholar, artist, and man; and it also reveals by indirection those generous and humane qualities of mind and heart that made Hoyt Hudson a superior human being, and his untimely death a heavy misfortune. The second category contains thirteen essays by former students and associates of Mr. Drummond upon various subjects connected with the drama. The drama is Mr. Drummond's major interest at present and during the past twenty-five years of his career, and these essays bespeak the breadth and depth of that interest. To the third category belong two essays on phonetics, a subject whose importance Mr. Drummond has actively emphasized, for reasons obvious to anyone who reads these two able studies. The fourth category holds ten essays by still others of Mr. Drummond's large academic family upon matters connected with rhetorical theory and criticism, one of his earliest and most abiding interests.

Some indication of the value of these essays may be provided by a brief glance at the topics handled by the authors. I shall not attempt to cover each topic and each author, lest my comments resemble a somewhat mechanical enlargement of the table of contents of the volume. But I shall undertake to show by reference to some topics in each section of the volume that this work deserves the attention of many students in many fields, and represents a high order of scholarly accomplishment in one of the youngest departments of the modern university.

All students of the theory of acting will want to read Mr. Edwin Duerr's 'Stanislavski and the Idea,' and Mr. Edward J. West's 'Henry Irving, 1870-1890.' Mr. Duerr shows that Stanislavski and his adherents are guilty of advocating that the actor derive his technique from a direct study of events as they occur in nature, rather than from a combined study of the natural event and of its artistic counterpart in the drama. His basic criticism of Stanislavski's system is that 'it does not differentiate between nature and art.' Mr. West traces the career of Henry Irving in a period when the theatre was changing from a domination by the actor to a domination by the playwright. Irving's career is explained as a partial revolt against this change. When he died, observes Mr. West, 'the last of the giants of tradition was gone; only pygmies, puppets in the hands of playwrights, remained.'

The theatre is a place in which actor competes with playwright and poetry competes with music and with scenery. Mr. Darkes Albright's 'Musical Drama as a Union of All the Arts' traces the history of opera,

and states the terms in which producers and authors and musicians have sought to effect an artistic synthesis of their various arts. His essay should interest the opera-goer as well as the student of the arts of the theatre. Of similar interest is Mr. Barnard Hewitt's 'Expression in Stage Scenery.' The scene and its relation to the play have a rich history and an attractive future. Mr. Hewitt discusses these matters and suggests some of the experiments that may soon be a part of every theatre-goer's experience.

The historical approach to the drama is represented by Mr. Marvin T. Herrick's 'Senecan Influence in *Gorboduc*.' Mr. Herrick analyzes recent critical opinions upon the question of the sources of this first blank-verse tragedy in English, and concludes after an examination of the play that the predominant classical influence is Senecan, but that various native sources also contributed. Another historical matter is treated in Mr. Arthur L. Woehl's 'Some Plays in the Repertories of the Patent Houses.' When Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant secured patents from Charles II in 1660 and established a monopoly of theatrical performances in London, they divided the great Elizabethan plays between their two theatres, and for two decades, as Mr. Woehl says, 'the Restoration theatre found its main strength in plays written for another age.' How these great plays were divided, and what such observers as Pepys had to say of their performance by the two companies, are Mr. Woehl's main topics. Mr. Jonathan W. Curvin's 'The Stage Yankee' traces the emergence of this American type in our theatre, and shows how it expressed between 1787 and 1887 our growing independence, our spirit of nationalism, and our interest in native matters.

Students of literary theory will find two essays in this volume worthy of close attention. Mr. Leland Schubert's 'The Realism in Romanticism' shows that romanticism and realism are not mutually exclusive concepts, as some critics have made them, and that the notion of a severe repulsion between them does not accord with the views openly expressed by Victor Hugo and Wordsworth, who both emphasized ideas later made cardinal points in realistic doctrine. Mr. Ross Scanlan's 'The Challenge of Ibsen' deals with a similar problem. Here was Ibsen, a playwright of real artistic stature, who chose to build his plays upon what are loosely called social theses. Here were his critics, who believed that moral aims or social intentions in an artist would effectively defeat his artistic aims. What were the results? Mr. Scanlan points them out. Some critics called Ibsen good as a polemist, but bad as an artist. Others said that he was a good artist and only incidentally a polemist. Still others justified him as an artist by drawing a distinction between legitimate inquiry into a social problem and an illegitimate advocacy of a social thesis. Mr. Scanlan, like Mr.

Schubert, calls attention to the dangers which beset the critic when he allows his critical vocabulary to be his master and not his servant.

Readers of this journal will find special interest in Mr. Charles K. Thomas's 'The Dialectal Significance of the Non-Phonemic Low-Back Vowel Variants before *R*' and Mr. Lee S. Hultzén's 'The Pronunciation of Monosyllabic Form-Words in American English.' These two authors need no introduction to phoneticians. Mr. Thomas investigates the question of regional variations in such words as *forest* and *horrid,* and Mr. Hultzén lists the form-words and presents 'all the respectable variant pronunciations' of those 'which are usually or frequently pronounced with obscured vowels or extraordinary modification of consonants.'

The student of rhetorical theory cannot afford to miss the essays which fill the final pages of this volume. Mr. Harry Caplan's 'The Decay of Eloquence at Rome in the First Century' shows that two observers in that period mainly attributed the decline in oratory in their day to the loss of political liberty. Other observers saw other causes, 'but certainly,' Mr. Caplan observes, 'the loss of political liberty is the major and ultimate consideration.' Mr. Russell Wagner's 'The Meaning of *Dispositio*' argues that this Latin term is mistranslated into English by such equivalents as arrangement, or speech construction, or planning. Referring to Aristotle and particularly to Cicero and Quintilian, Mr. Wagner shows that in these best classical theorists the term meant the process of adapting materials to the particular situation at hand, the functional selecting and using of materials for a particular purpose, 'the matching of material to needs created by real situations.'

The *Compendium Rhetorices* of Erasmus provides an illustration of the way in which classical rhetoric was digested during the Renaissance, and Hoyt H. Hudson's able translation of this digest is another distinctive contribution to this volume. Mr. Harold F. Harding's 'The Listener on Eloquence, 1750-1800' presents and analyzes comments about Burke, Sheridan, Pitt, and Fox by those who heard these orators speak.

I have covered barely half of the contents of this volume, and I would need more space than I have to do anything with the authors I have not yet mentioned. Their contributions fit under the topics I have already discussed, and are eminently valuable and worthy of attention.

A word ought to be said about the expert work done by the editors in planning and preparing this volume. I encountered no typographical errors; I found the notes at the end of each essay unobtrusive, yet easy of access; I thought the apportionment of space to each of Mr. Drummond's major scholarly interests satisfactory. It is completely true, as the editors observe in the Preface, that the papers included in this volume

reflect the breadth of Mr. Drummond's interests and the range of his curiosity. It is the particular merit of this book that those interests emerge from the many contributions, not as a mere miscellany, but as a system of deeply related and profoundly unified interests.

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A LETTER ON SPELLING REFORM

The Editor, *American Speech:*

It cannot be denied that the spelling system of the Anglo-American language is a headache to young and old, but few Americans realize that foreigners of many nationalities have even more difficulty with their simpler, more phonetic systems. These people, when they come to the United States, excuse their bad English, written and spoken, by blaming it onto our efforts to cram so many sounds into twenty-six letters. It is popularly believed that the spelling of most foreign languages, particularly Spanish and Italian, is fool-proof. French is supposed to be rather difficult, although far easier than English, but two French university graduates have told me that they made fewer mistakes in spelling in English than in their native tongue.

Observation of Italians and Latin-Americans in this country over a period of years leads me to believe that the average grown man of these two peoples misspells about twenty times as many words in his own language as the average American with an eighth-grade education does in English, and that there are no Americans who spell as badly in our language as they do in theirs.

In my younger days I lived in the far western part of the United States and knew a large number of Mexicans. They had had very little education, but most of them could read and write. The spelling of Spanish is so easy that I can truthfully say that I have never forgotten how to spell a Spanish word in my life. I am not naturally good at spelling, and the opposite is the sad truth when I write in English. I fondly imagined that a person whose native tongue was Spanish would just have to learn the alphabet and then be all set. Of course, there are a few difficulties here and there, but I thought that anyone could see a common word written a few times and then remember the spelling till doomsday. Also, the Mexicans, contrary to the popular belief, have the best pronunciation of all Spanish-speaking peoples. In fact, they sound like amateur radio announcers, and make every syllable as clear as a bell.

In Latin-American Spanish, *ll* and *y* are pronounced alike, and *z* and *c* before *i* and *e* are pronounced like *s*. *B* and *v* are universally pro-

nounced alike, and *h* is always silent except in *ch*. These difficulties seem ridiculously trivial to an American, but they keep tripping up our good neighbors. Of course, an educated Mexican's spelling is good, but I am speaking of the masses. Ask an average Mexican to write *vayas,* a form of the verb 'to go,' and he will spell it any one of eight different ways: *vayas, vallas, vayaz, vallaz, bayas, ballas, bayaz* and *ballaz.* If he writes a long letter in which this word appears many times, he is as likely as not to spell it two or three different ways. Can you imagine anyone misspelling the pronoun *I,* or any word as common as that in any language in the world? I tax the gullibility of my friends when I tell them that our good neighbors often misspell their word for *I.* The word is *yo,* and I have seen them write it *llo* hundreds of times.

Hallazgo is a noun meaning 'finding.' They will spell it *hallazgo* or *hayazgo* or *hallasgo* or *hayasgo* or *allazgo* or *ayazgo* or *allasgo* or *ayasgo.* The word for 'to do' or 'to make' is *hacer,* and they will write *hacer* or *haser* or *acer* or *aser.* The auxiliary verb 'to have' is *haber,* and they are as likely as not to make it *haber* or *haver* or *aber* or *aver.* When they do spell it right, it is sheer accident. They are just shooting in the dark. South Americans with the same amount of education are even worse because of their poorer pronunciations. They have the habit, which Mexicans haven't, of dropping the *s* here and there, especially at the ends of words, so they often leave it out when writing.

For years I associated with Italians in New York, and finally started studying their language in night school. They assured me that Italian phonetics were foolproof, unlike Spanish, as *b* and *v* were pronounced as in English, there was no *y* at all, *z* was pronounced like *ts,* and *c* like *ch;* so neither one could possibly be confused with *s.* The *h,* they said, occurred only in the *ch* and *gh* combinations, which were phonetically watertight, and in four forms of the auxiliary verb 'to have,' and that these latter four forms, *ho, hai, ha,* and *hanno,* were all I really had to remember. Of course, there were doubled consonants, but they were given extra trills of sorts so that they were always distinct from single consonants.

I soon found out that standard Italian is the dialect of just one part of Italy, Tuscany, and that words are spelled as they are pronounced in that one province only. So, to a Neapolitan or a Sicilian, or, in fact, to nine-tenths of the people in Italy, the simplicity of the spelling system is a total loss. If a person goes to school long enough, he will learn real Italian, and he knows how to spell a word correctly as soon as he learns how to pronounce it. But most of the people in Italy and the overwhelming majority of the Italians in the United States never learn standard

Italian. An American is apt to think that speech would differ between Tuscans and Neapolitans just as it does between Brooklynites and Bostonians. Actually there is no comparison. I once saw a sentence meaning 'Inside there were written three words' in the dialects of several different parts of Italy. Here are three:

Tuscany: *Dentro c' erano scritte tre parole.*
Lombardy: *Deintr a i era scrett trai paroll.*
Sardinia: *Intro ci vini inscrittas tres paraulas.*

Most places in southern Italy, and a good many places elsewhere, the people mix voiced and unvoiced consonants such as *b* and *p, d* and *t, f* and *v, c* (when pronounced *k*) and *g* (when hard), as well as *c* (when pronounced *ch*) and *g* (when pronounced *j*). When they spell words as they pronounce them, as they usually do, the results are disastrous. Just as Mexicans misspell words as common as 'I,' Italians misspell words as common as 'you' in the language of Dante. There are several second person pronouns, including *tu, ti, te, voi* and *vi,* and I have seen them spelled *du, di, de, foi* and *fi* many times. And at spelling words as common as 'cat,' they are as bad as the Mexicans ever were. A Calabrian friend was boasting of the ease of spelling his idiom when I asked him the meaning of the Neapolitan term *natu* in the chorus of 'O Sole Mio.' He said that it was *natro* in Italian, and wrote it down. This was beyond me, so I asked its meaning in English. He said 'another.' I said a few Tuscan blasphemies and asked him if he had ever seen it spelled *un altro.* He could not remember.

If an Italian or a Latin-American has had a good education, he can spell as well as anybody. But if he has had two or three years of schooling, he not only is usually far worse than the worst American speller that ever lived, but usually develops a mental complex that prevents him from learning to spell. The words I have mentioned as examples can be found by the hundreds in any daily newspaper, but the ignorant of both races can read newspapers every day for twenty years without learning to spell them. My Calabrian friend was an omnivorous reader, and many an immigrant as ignorant of letters as he has assured me that he has been reading *Corriere d'America* or *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* ever since he climbed out of the steerage twenty or thirty years ago. Similarly, many a Mexican has boasted to me that he has read twenty-five books by the Colombian novelist Vargas Vila, and then revealed that he did not know how to spell the author's name, or even his own name.

I doubt that the Italians and Spanish-speaking peoples are the only ones who have great difficulty in writing their languages. I am sure there are many others, but I am not so good a linguist as I would like to be.

I do not maintain that if the English phonetic system were reformed, Americans would spell worse than ever. The point I want to make is that we need not envy foreigners in this respect.

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MINOR NOTES ON 'AMERICAN SPEECH' FOR OCTOBER AND DECEMBER, 1944, MOSTLY IN THE FORM OF NOTES ON *DAE*

OCTOBER 1944

1. 'Designations for Colored Folk,' by H. L. Mencken, pp. 161-174. It is mentioned (p. 171) that the first example of *Coon* (4) in *DAE* is dated 1887. An antedating by ten years occurs in a curious periodical, *The Chicago Street Gazette,* which circulated amongst bullies, prostitutes, and the habitués of low saloons.

+COON, n. (4) 1887. 1877 H. Asbury *The Underworld of Chicago* (Eng. edn. 1941), illustration opposite p. 80 of *The Chicago Street Gazette* of 20 Oct. 1877 To meet me in a twenty-four foot ring . . . there to forever settle the question as to who is the best coon.

The same source also antedates the attributive use from 1905 to 1877.

+COON, n. (6d) 1905. 1877 *Ibid.,* opp. p. 80 Prospect of a Prize Fight Between Two Noted Coon Sluggers.

The word *darky* or *darkey* (*DAE* 1775) is mentioned (p. 163). An interesting pendant to this, unrecorded in *DAE* though written within its limits, i.e. *a* 1901, is the use of *dark* to denote 'inhabited by Negroes.'

+DARK, adj. (inhabited by Negroes). 1900 G. Ade *More Fables in Slang* (Eng. edn. 1902) p. 58 It must be known that the Court lived in a Ward that was Dark in one End, and he was out for the Colored Vote in case he ran for Judge.

Mr. Mencken is incorrect in thinking (p. 173) that the English proper name applied to the ass might be *Moggy*. *Moggy* is the English, chiefly Cockney, slang word for a cat, and for certain low-quality fur alleged to be derived from the cat. In the former sense it is given in Partridge's *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English.*

2. 'A New-England Dialogue,' pp. 227-228. Mr. B. J. Whiting, quoting from *Notes and Queries* (First Series, X [1854], 84), gives a use of *ugly* with the sense of 'bad-tempered, vicious.' This sense is not in *DAE*. I can give an earlier, confirmatory example from an acute observer of the American scene, the great English actor and mimic, Charles Mathews, writing of American idiom.

UGLY, adj. 1823 Letter dated 23 Feb. (Philadelphia) in A. Mathews *Memoirs of Charles Mathews* (1839) iii.386 'Ugly' means *ill-tempered.* 'It is a pity such a pretty woman should be so *ugly.*'

DECEMBER 1944

3. 'American Profanity,' by H. L. Mencken, pp. 242-249. It is mentioned (p. 243) that the first example of *cussed* in *DAE* is dated 1840. A considerably earlier example is to be found in the Journal in America of an Englishman, Nicholas Cresswell.

+CUSSED, adj. 1840. ' 1774 N. Cresswell *Journal* (1925) 7 June I have taken his advice and he told me it is a Fever with some cussed physical name.

4. 'Editorials and Reviews: The American Dialect Dictionary,' pp. 284-289. On p. 286, among rare words having interesting and unusual meanings is mentioned *wudget,* 'a little bunch.' Although this word is not noticed in *OED,* I have a note of an English example in the variant spelling *wadget,* dating from 1800.

WADGET, n. 1800 T. Morton *Speed the Plough* Act I, Scene i *Farmer Ashfield* . . . Has thee brought whoam the Salisbury news? *Dame Ashfield* No, Tummas; but I have brought a rare wadget of news with me.

5. 'Editorials and Reviews: Some Notes on H. L. Mencken's "War Words in England," ' pp. 293-295. Your correspondent writes (p. 295): 'Another British usage that intrigues me is "all-in," sometimes used when we would say "all-out." "This is an all-in war." It may be that "all-in" is not a war word, but was in use before the war.'

'All-in' was certainly in use for some forty years before the war, having a sporting origin that I will endeavour to explain from horse racing by way of wrestling.

Linguistically 'all-in' and 'all-out' can hardly be compared, for 'in' here is a contraction of 'included.' The meanings are by no means identical. An all-out war is one in which no extreme of effort is spared, an all-in war one in which no rules apply, and no dirty trick is left unused by the enemy.

When betting away from the racecourse with a bookmaker in England, normally, if the horse supported does not run, the bet is a void not a losing one. But on half a dozen of the biggest races of the year, the bookies offer odds and encourage betting weeks in advance of the contest, a process known as 'making an ante-post book on' the Derby, or whatever the race concerned. On these occasions, to simplify their bookkeeping and give themselves a little extra advantage, the bookies abrogate the usual rule about bets on non-runners being void, and advertise that bets on the race are 'All in, run or not.'

In the course of time this became a very well known sporting phrase of inclusiveness, being also figuratively applied. Thus, when in the hectic 1920's the sport of wrestling was deemed to need brightening by the in-

troduction of a variant type, in which almost all the rules had been dropped, and almost all previous fouls were permitted, this was christened by the word of sporting comprehensiveness and became known as 'All-in Wrestling.'

Sir St Vincent Troubridge

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PHONETICS

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Alonso, A. La identidad del fonema. *Rev. de Filología Hispánica*, 6: 280-283. July-Sept. 1944.
The identity of the phoneme depends on the functional alternation of some one of its features. In spite of such alternations the phoneme continues to be the same.

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Description of the articulation of French nasals, with pedagogical suggestions.

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'. . . stress and intonation should be taught first. Sounds should be taught by ear, accompanied by physiological explanations, before the graphic equivalents are seen.' Discussion and diagrams of intonational patterns.

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Explanation of the IPA system, together with sample texts showing its application to various languages.

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Includes a discussion of the phonetic difficulties of the Spanish speaker in learning English.

Newman, S. Cultural and psychological features in English intonation. *Trans. New York Acad. of Sciences*, 7: 45-54. 1945.
'The purpose of this paper is not to present a picture of English intonation for its own sake, but rather to use the intonational phenomena of English as an illustration which can provide us with some insights into the functioning of language.'

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teaching of the sounds of many languages. *Mod. Lang. Jour.*, 29: 210-214. Mar. 1945.

A series of practical observations.

Phonograph records for Spanish in the grades: Hablemos español.

A set of 15 ten-inch records, with teacher's manual. Price $13.50. Obtainable from the Department of Radio and Visual Education, State Department of Education, Austin, Texas.

Ringgold, Nicolette Pernot. Cent exercices de pronunciation française. Washington, D.C. [privately printed], 1943. vi, 96 pp.

Shewmake, E. F. How to find [ʌɪ] in Eastern Virginia. *Am. Sp.*, 20: 152-153. Apr. 1945.

Offers suggestions that may help 'to observe [ʌɪ] before voiceless consonants as a characteristic of typical Eastern Virginia speech.'

Stetson, R. H. Bases of phonology. Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College, 1945. 112 pp.

Phonemicists in seeking an organized system of which each phoneme was to be an essential part avoided the confusing physiological and acoustic findings of phonetics, but the results have been elaborate, bulky classifications without the desired unity. There must be one single consistent type of process which will achieve a unified system for theoretical phonology and for the practical projects of learning foreign languages. This 'type of process' is to be the movement of the speech apparatus, where the phoneme becomes the aspect of a factor in the syllable. Thus the new bent for phonology is toward the development of a motor phonetics.

Thorndike, E. L. Euphony and cacophony of English words and sounds. *Quart. Jour. Speech*, 30: 201-207. Apr. 1944.

On the basis of statistical interpretation of the responses from educated adults the vowels [ɑ], [ɔ], [i], [o] and the consonants *l, d, t, r, s, m* rank as the most pleasing sounds.

——. The association of certain sounds with pleasant and unpleasant meanings. *Psychol. Rev.*, 52: 143-149. May 1945.

Gives lists of words with pleasant and unpleasant meanings for English, German, Russian, Attic Greek, Finnish, and Hungarian. Each list contains some 6,000 phonemes. In each language certain sounds are associated with pleasant meanings and others with unpleasant meanings. The explanation lies in the phonological events in the particular language.

Wells, R. S. The pitch phonemes of English. *Lang.*, 21: 27-39. Jan.-Mar. 1945.

'A system of four pitch phonemes enables us to differentiate all the phonemically (i.e., perceptually and meaningfully) different pitch contours of English that have come to the writer's notice.' There is a table of the most common pitch contours and a comparison of this system with those of Bloomfield, Palmer, and Harris.

Williamson, A. B. Diagnosis and treatment of eighty-four cases of nasality. *Quart. Jour. Speech*, 30: 471-479. Dec. 1944.

Zamora Vicente, A. El habla de Mérida y sus cercanías. *Rev. de Filología Española*, Supplement 19. 1943. 153 pp., 28 plates.

Linguistic atlas and phonetic description of the speech of this Spanish city and region.

AMONG THE NEW WORDS

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WHEN parachutes began to be so widely used early in the recent war, one may say that the linguistic conditions were present for the shortening of *parachute* to *para-* in the many words which have since been formed with this element. The form *para-* was already familiar both as a prefix from the Greek and as a combining form from the Italian, the latter being that form which, combined with *chute,* made *parachute* in the first place. The shortened form seems to have arisen in England, but it has been popular on both sides of the Atlantic. It was first used in the word *paratroops* in 1940. Since then there have been many others, some well established, others occurring in only one citation, apparently nonce forms (see H. L. Mencken, *Am. Sp.,* 19:12, n. 22). Nevertheless, it seems worth while to list as many of the *para-* words as are available, regardless of whether they may be nonce forms or not. We will at least have a record of the popularity of the form.

The list that follows has been made up from published as well as unpublished material. Of the unpublished citations, three were supplied by Professor Henry Alexander and one each by Professor Dwight L. Bolinger and Miss Mamie J. Meredith. The order is chronological.

1940 *paratroops, parashooter, parashot, paraspotter* (*Am. Sp.,* 19:12); 1942 *para-ski, para-skier* (*ibid.,* 19:63); 1943 *parapup, paraspy* (*ibid.,* 19:12, n. 22); 'Parabombs burst above the ground, spray their fragments with telling effect' (*Time* 18 Oct. p. 36/2); 1944 *parapants* (*ibid.,* 10 Apr. p. 12); *parapooch* (dog dropped in a parachute; cited *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 10 Mar. 1945 p. 26/1); *parapup* (*This Week* 14 May p. 18); 'He is one of six paradoctors attached to the Search and Rescue Station of the Second Air Force' (*Time* 10 July p. 92/3); *parafemmes* (Frenchwomen sent down by parachute; Lond. *Eve. Stand.* Aug.); 'Nazi para-mines nearly blocked supply lines' (Kingston *Whig-Stand.* Sept.); 'This . . . Jap Sally plane went up in smoke a few seconds after this picture was taken—destroyed by parafrag bombs. . .' (*TN* 5 Oct. p. 1/1-2); 'The Royal Canadian Air Force has especially trained a group of "para-searchers" ' (parachutists who bring help to stranded aviators; Kingston *Whig-Stand.* 3 Nov. p. 7); 'Oliver N. Magee, paramarine, son of War Dad and Mrs. . . . Magee. . .' (*Veterans' Weekly* [Lincoln, Neb.] 15 Dec. p. 2); 1945 '. . . Allied Airborne troops and parapacked supplies are shown as they plummeted down five miles beyond the Rhine. . .' (*BN* 27 Mar. p. 1/5-6); 'And Happy As Larks

in Hego Paratwill raincoats! Tailored for the Young by Aquatogs in that shiny, sturdy, rain-defiant fabric paratroopers prize—Paratwill' (adv. in N. Y. *Times Mag.* 8 Apr. p. 37).

Para- in these words is a bound form; and since it is always added at the beginning of the word, it tends to act like a prefix. It is so described by Mr. Allen Walker Read, 'to denote something sent down by parachute' (*Sat. Rev. Lit., loc. cit.*). In some ways, however, these words appear to be compounds (note the presence of a hyphen in some of them), in which case *para-* may be thought of as a special combining form.

Booby trap in the military sense dates from the end of the first World War. The *OED* Sup. lists the term s. v. *booby* and cites a 1918 quotation. Fraser and Gibbons defined it in their *Soldier and Sailor Words and Phrases* in 1925, but it seems not to have gained currency enough for inclusion in the general dictionaries. It is missing, for example, from Wyld's *Universal* (1932), *NID* (1934) and latest 'New Words Section,' and the *New Standard* (c. 1942). The 1944 *New Century* defines it but relates it to 'the World War.' Since 1939, however, citations in general usage have been so numerous, especially with the retreat of the Axis powers, that the term will most likely be assured of a permanent place in the general dictionaries. And the restriction to World War I can now be dropped.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: Mr. Joseph Prescott for the earliest citation of *soap opera* in the April (1945) issue. For this issue: Mr. Henry Alexander (2); Mr. Dwight L. Bolinger (1); Mr. A. L. Hench (2); Mr. J. L. Kuethe (1); Mr. J. B. McMillan for the earlier illustration of *dollar word;* Miss Mamie J. Meredith (14); Mr. G. P. Shannon (1); Mr. Peter Tamony (3), including the citation for *milk wagon run;* Mr. Harold Wentworth (1).

The abbreviation *'BN'* is used for the Birmingham (Ala.) *News* and *'TN'* for the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) *News.*

SYMBOLS: The symbol + before a word or definition indicates an Americanism. A date immediately following a word or definition indicates the time of evidence shown in the DAE, or, if so stated, in another publication. Dates in brackets indicate the time, etc., of British usage. An asterisk after a word indicates that the word is illustrated in British usage before 1600.

BLACK MARKETEER, BLACK MARKETER. Operator of a black market. —1942 *New Repub.* 13 Apr. p. 490 The most skilled black marketer . . . is the sort of man who used to be a confidence man or other City hanger-on.' 1944 *BN* 12 Mar. p. 3/4 Philadelphia is the new scene for black marketeers from N. Y., because the Big Town's probe hit too many legal reefs. *Time* 4 Dec. p. 84/3 Some three weeks ago, the French government made its first cautious attempt to curb this inflation by sopping up some of the currency, much of it in the hands of war profiteers and black marketeers.

+BOBBY-SOCK, BOBBY SOCKS, BOBBY-SOX. [Cf. *bobby-pin.*] Anklets, esp. when worn by teen-age girls. (Also

attrib.)—1943 *Time* 5 July p. 76/1 . . . hundreds of . . . girls in bobby socks sat transfixed. 1944 *Life* 4 Sept. p. 73/2 The movie scout who discovered Linda Darnell first noticed that future star wandering around in bobby socks in Dallas . . . *BN* 22 Nov. p. 8/4 Bobbysox Rage Is To Shoplift During School. 1945 *Newsweek* 1 Jan. p. 12. *This Week* 15 Apr. p. 21/2 . . . scarcely one per cent of these letters . . . have included comments on teen-age bobby-sock girls afflicted with dementia-Sinatra.

+BOBBYSOCK, BOBBY-SOCKS, BOBBY SOCKS, BOBBY-SOX, BOBBY SOX BRIGADE. See quots.—1944 *Newsweek* 6 Mar. p. 88 In New York City last week, the 'Bobby-sox Brigade' had swelled to such alarming proportions (within a year the Wayward Minors' Court had had nearly 100 per cent increase in delinquent-girl cases) that police imposed an unofficial curfew. Lincoln (Neb.) *Eve. Jour.* 22 Mar. Police in Hartford, Conn., are on the alert for members of the 'bobby socks brigade'—girls of school age found loitering around drug stores, taverns, military installations, movies, and railroad and bus terminals. *TN* 23 Nov. p. 10/5 (AP) The bobbysock brigade seems to be doing its Christmas shoplifting early . . . 1945 *Read. Dig.* Jan. p. 13/1 Almost all those present belong to the bobby-socks brigade, age perhaps 12 to 16. U. of Ala. *Crimson-White* 2 Feb. p. 3/4 . . . one of the highest contestants would probably be a certain professor . . . who affects his predominately [*sic*] female class like Sinatra does the Bobby Sox Brigade . . .

+BOBBY SOCKER, BOBBY-SOCKER, BOBBY-SOCKSER, BOBBY SOXER, BOBBY-SOXER. A girl 12-17 years old. —1944 *Life* 27 Nov. p. 76/2 When bobby-socker squeals, sound is carried to loudspeaker . . . B'ham *News-Age-Herald* 19 Nov. p. 11-A/4 (AP) About 6,000 bobby soxers attended the concert . . . 1945 *Newsweek* 1 Jan. p. 74. *Read. Dig.* Jan. p. 13/1. *Harper's* May (Personal and Otherwise) . . . we think the bobby-soxers ought to sick . . . someone on Mr. Harburg. *This Week* 6 May p. 16/3 We've got to give bobby-soxers a bigger part in this greatest of wars. *Time* 4 June p. 90/3.

CANNIBALIZE. See quots.—1944 Gunther *D Day* (N. Y. and Lond.: Harper and Bros.) p. 7 Here were two ships being 'cannibalized.' This odd expression means that these ships are being torn apart to provide spare parts for other aircraft. *Newsweek* 28 Aug. p. 34 [Jeeps] wrecked or unserviceable are to be 'cannibalized' for repair parts. B'ham *News-Age-Her.* 3 Sept. p. 10-A/3 The government is 'cannibalizing' jeeps. That is, it is using all the jeeps it has by interchanging parts as needed. 1945 *News and Views* (Gen. Motors Acceptance Corp.) Feb. p. 36. *Time* 4 June p. 32/1.

CUT-BACK, CUTBACK. See *Am. Sp.*, 19: 224/2. Add: 2. *Transf.*—1944 *BN* 20 Apr. p. 15/5 (AP) Gen. Giles . . . made this statement in a letter to Sen. Andrews . . . explaining the recent cutback in the AAF flying training program. B'ham *News-Age-Her.* 2 July p. 4-A/3 (AP) Sharp cut-back in war contracts . . . will be paralleled by cutbacks in the war-swollen membership lists of the labor unions.

CUT BACK, *v.*—1943 *Sat. Eve. Post* 6 Nov. p. 112 . . . the day will approach when, if the Army cuts back a program, it will not need the steel for some other program . . . 1944 *Time* 26 June p. 18/3 Before long the Navy . . . expects to cut back this program . . . *TN* 15 Nov. p. 4/2 Labor will have to understand that there will be some unemployment as we terminate contracts and cut back production. 1945 President Roosevelt 6 Jan. Broadcast . . . because their war production has been cut back . . .

DOLLAR. See *Am. Sp.*, 17: 204-5. In phr. *ten-dollar word.* Add earlier illust.—1935 Mark Sullivan *Our Times*, VI, 38n. I doubt whether . . . Ethan Allen . . . ever put his demand on the British commander in any such ten-dollar words. In phr. *sixty-four dollar ($64) question.* Add to def.: Difficult, frequently the climactic question. Add later illust.—1944 Fred Allen Program 12 Mar. I was as hard as the sixty-four-dollar question. *Newsweek* 20 Mar. p. 23 The reply to that $64 question 'Where is the Jap fleet?' thus lies

in an analysis of Tokyo's present strategy. *Time* 8 May p. 44 (adv.) . . . —and now for the $64 question—'List the contents of your home.' Almost impossible to do from memory!

+GOBBLEDYGOOK. See second quot. (Also attrib.)—1944 *Time* 10 Apr. p. 57/1 Maury Maverick . . . railed against what he called Washington's 'gobbledygook' language. N. Y. *Times Mag.* 21 May p. 11/1 (Maury Maverick); (cited A. W. Read *Sat Rev. Lit.* 10 Mar. 1945 p. 7/1) . . . 'gobbledygook' . . . talk or writing which is long, pompous, vague, involved, usually with Latinized words. It is also talk or writing which is merely long, even though the words are fairly simple, with repetition over and over again, all of which could have been said in a few words. *Chr. Sci. Monitor Weekly Mag.* 9 Sept. p. 3/1 After many a despairing struggle . . . with official 'gobbledygook,' the Government has finally hammered out provisions . . . 1945 *Harper's* Apr. (John Chamberlain in 'The New Books') He is an enemy of professorial gobbledygook . . .

JEEP, *v. i.*—1942 *Time* 28 Sept. p. 57 Yanks: Drinking English Tea; Jeeping in the Middle East. 1944 Balto. *Sun* 17 Apr. p. 2/3 (AP) Earlier . . . I had flown over and jeeped through a fair portion of the present battleground. *Sat. Eve. Post* 12 Aug. p. 96/3 . . . I jeeped back to camp to break the news. 1945 *Newsweek* 8 Jan. p. 23. Lond. *Picture Post* 14 Apr. p. 7 Sometimes, it took us hours to jeep a few miles.

+JUNIOR MISS. A girl 13-16 years old. (Also attrib.)—1927 *Vogue* 15 Jan. p. 106/2 Junior Misses' Frock No. 8820 . . . 1932 *Harper's* Jan. p. 206 Junior Miss . . . 1941 S. Benson *Junior Miss* (N.Y.: Random House). 1944 *Life* 21 Aug. p. 59/3 Her clean, junior-miss charm and her ability to capture the bewilderment of adolescence contribute to one of the year's pleasantest performances. *TN* 31 Aug. p. 6/3 The junior miss can team up the jacket of this plaid suit with a pair of matching slacks . . .

MAQUIS. [Fr., cf. Larousse.] See quots. (Also attrib.)—1944 *This Week* 30 Apr. p. 4/3 I met one of the maquis soldiers . . . *Time* 29 May p. 36/1 Until invasion lifts the curtain, the many elements which make up French resistance —groups still bearing the old party names, saboteur bands, the maquis . . . —cannot be seen as a clear whole. Lond. *Spectator* 16 June p. 538. B'ham *News-Age-Her.* 16 July p. 16-C/3 (AP) The Maquis—patriots who have taken to the woods to fight—are composed mainly of young men seeking escape from labor service in Germany or sought by the Germans for resisting them one way or another. *Time* 24 July p. 28/3.

+MILK (WAGON) RUN. See quots.—1943 San Francisco *Call-Bulletin* 17 July p. 2/2-5 Loaded with bombs and guns primed, this Marine Corps dive bomber passes over Henderson Field . . . at the start of what is called the 'milk wagon' run. 1944 *Newsweek* 12 June p. 6 The usually accepted definition of a 'milk run' is a sortie against a target that is hit daily. There is no connotation of more or less danger. N. Y. *Times Mag.* 2 July p. 24/4 Milk-run—Routine mission flown repeatedly. *Time* 4 Dec. p. 65/1 In winter the North Atlantic airway to Europe is no 'milk run.' 1945 *Life* 5 Feb. p. 47/3 (adv.) Flying North American B-25 Mitchell bombers, these pilots have boxed the compass in Burma, distributing tokens for Tojo and turning hot spots into milk runs.

+SCRIPTER. A script writer.—1939 Chicago *Herald Examiner* 28 July p. 5 (Pt. 4) The scripters who turned out the story 'Alexander Graham Bell' were so carried away with the quality of the dramatic material available that they forgot about comedy relief. 1941 *Time* 7 July p. 66/3. 1944 *The Matrix* July pp. 10-12 The curator of the University Gallery liked my column . . . and took me on as a radio scripter . . . *Newsweek* 7 Aug. p. 83 Top Scripter. 1945 *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 14 Apr. p. 31/1 No question but that the expert scripter, dialogician, and screen playwright is the future king of Hollywood.

SCUTTLE BUTT, SCUTTLEBUTT. See quot. *Brit. Book of the Year.*—1939 *Am. Sp.*, Feb. p. 77/1 SCUTTLE BUTT. (1)

Drinking fountain. (2) Rumor of doubtful origin. 1941 *Time* 14 July p. 32 A great joke to cadets a few weeks ago was the scuttlebutt (rumor) that the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts . . . had stocked the station with a large surplus of caskets . . . 1943 Tregaskis *Guadalcanal Diary* (N. Y.: Random House) p. 47. *Sat. Eve. Post* 8 May p. 26/3 But [Adm.] Halsey knew the 1942 capital ship to be as fast and handy, . . . and scuttlebutt had it that he was curious to see how the Japs would like having sixteen-inch shells around their ears. 1944 *Brit. Book of the Year* p. 770 SCUTTLEBUTT, *naval slang.* Gossip; a rumor. (-1938. Scuttle-butt story, -1901; scuttle butt, drinking fountain on board ship, -1843.) 1944 *Harper's* Feb. p. 232/2. 1945 *Time* 2 Apr. p. 16/2.

SUPER-HIGHWAY, SUPER HIGHWAY, SUPERHIGHWAY. A specially designed highway for high-speed traffic (see 1925, 1938 quots.); any four-lane highway, esp. with an island in the middle.—1925 *Amer. City Mag.* Apr. p. 373/1 The Super-Highway is unique . . . it will furnish an express motor traffic highway upon which automobiles can travel continuously at a maximum speed with safety, because all grade-crossing interference will be eliminated. 1933 *Survey Graphic* Feb. p. 83 Railroads, A Super-Highway And the Unemployed. 1938 *Pop. Mech.* May p. 643 (cited *Read. Guide* 1939 p. 1553/2) Superhighways for 100 mile speed proposed. 1944 *TN* 11 July p. 1/6 (AP) The accident occurred at Ware's station . . . , near the Birmingham-Bessemer super highway. *Sat Eve. Post* 15 July p. 103 (adv.) This is a Super Highway. *Life* 18 Dec. p. 18/2.

TANK-DOZER. See quots.—1944 N. Y. *Times* 4 Aug. p. 3/3 (cited *Sat. Rev. Lit.* 10 Mar. p. 6/3) . . . the 'tank-dozer' . . . consists of a medium sized tank to which is fitted a 3½-ton blade. *U. S. News* 11 Aug. p. 15 . . . the new tank-dozers, a combination of medium tank and armored bulldozer . . . lunged forward . . . *Life* 14 Aug. p. 21 Bulldozers or 'tank-dozers,' tanks equipped with a scraping blade, often cut gaps through hedgerows. B'ham *News-Age-Her.* 27 Aug. p. Two-A/2 The newest member of the family is the tank-dozer . . . This is simply a medium tank with a dozer blade mounted on it.

TASK FORCE. See *Am. Sp.*, 19: 226/2. Add illust. of non-naval sense and revise second part of def. to read: Also applied to other operations.—1945 *Time* 15 Jan. p. 26/1 Near Stavelot a large German armored task force of tanks, tank destroyers, self-propelled guns and trucks snaked northward. *BN* 3 Mar. p. 1/4 (AP) One of the task forces of heavy bombers went 50 miles beyond Leipzig . . . *Time* 16 Apr. p. 77/2 . . . he named . . . Henry P. Nelson . . . to head a special 'task force,' which will recommend to WPB ways to help the industry clear its plants . . . *Sat. Eve Post* 28 July p. 12/1 . . . the 15th Infantry gave Lieutenant von Ripper a small task force to follow up some of his leads. He was after one gentleman in particular.

MISCELLANY

LOUISE POUND
University of Nebraska

AIR FORCE SLANG

The function of the Pacific Overseas Air Service Command is to keep supplies rolling to all Pacific overseas air forces. Although officers and enlisted men often work twelve or more hours a day, this is not enough to quench the American sense of humor, even at one's own expense. This is reflected in the slang which has developed in this organization since early in 1942.

Not all of this slang is confined to the Air Forces. As the personnel, both military and civilian, is constantly shifting, this brings persons from every state and from Pacific overseas outposts to this command. They bring their native and organizational slang with them, add what they like from their associates, and coin new phrases to fit new situations which are often not to their liking. This Army stew is sometimes too hot to serve to civilians. The ingredients of the present dish have been selected with a view to the sedentary reader whose digestion is not so strong.

Balloon cargo. Collapsible cargo requiring loading in the upper holds of vessels. Most Air Corps cargo is balloon cargo.

Belly tanks. Auxiliary fuel tanks.

Big wheel. Anyone with a little authority.

Bleed (the line). To drain.

Buck slip. A general term in the Army and some commercial firms for a slip of paper on which certain information is requested from another department or office. The information is usually returned on the same slip. Probably from 'passing the buck.'

BTO. 'Big time operator'—someone who thinks he is important.

Busy beaver. Used in a derogatory or spiteful manner of an industrious worker.

Crash boat. A marine rescue boat, for rescuing aircraft personnel and sometimes planes making forced landings at sea.

Cub. A small training plane.

Dead. Applied to storage space where movement of material is slow.

Dodo. A cadet before he starts flying. From the dodo bird, which could not fly.

Eager beaver. Same as *busy beaver,* q. v.

Fin. Vertical stabilizer of a plane.

File 13. The waste basket.

Fly-away. A plane which is flown to an overseas command instead of being shipped by vessel. Sometimes used of planes flown from factory to storage depots in the United States.

Fruit salad. A number of campaign ribbons worn on the chest.

Fubar. Fouled up beyond all recognition.

Get off the beam. To go out of the way, get lost. Used by grounded flyers for drivers of automobiles.

Goof off. To make a mistake.

Go-to-hell buggy. A Cushman (motor) scooter, used by dispatch riders.

Grounded Maytag-Messerschmidt. Same as *Go-to-hell buggy,* q. v.

He's in the Army now, work 'im till he faints. Give him more work.

Hit 'im again, he's still breathing. Give him another assignment, an additional duty.

Hopped up. Applied to a plane built for speed. Taken from the 'hopped up' automobiles of the high-school set.

Jumbo book. A book showing numerical listing of carloads. Taken from railroad terminology.

Kick it in the slats. To step on the gas.

Maytag-Messerschmidt. An L-4 plane (Taylor or Piper cub).

Mechanical cows from Westchester. Long cylinders used to churn evaporated milk and water to produce Army milk when overseas.

Menu board. A directory board for presentation of data to officers.

Naked. Applied to articles not boxed or packed.

Night fighters. Maori girls. (Night fighter planes are painted black.)

*Pickled (*motor). One prepared with a rustproof oil or corrosion-preventive compound.

Pipeline time. From the time a requisition leaves a depot until the requested supplies arrive there.

Plunder. Cargo of non-uniform size or shape.

Ride piggyback. To sit crouched behind the pilot of a P-38. There is very little room in a P-38, and the instructor is so close to the student pilot in front of him that he is almost on his back.

Screening. Salvaging good parts, junking bad parts of damaged war materiel. 'Screening requisitions' means checking accuracy, quantity and quality. 'Screening personnel' means to examine the records of an applicant's qualifications.

Shingle stowing. Setting planes at an angle with the deck so that they overlap each other like shingles.

Shop mule. A kind of towing tractor.

Sober 'im up and send him in. Have him report.

Sod poodles. Prairie dogs. (Used by AAF personnel near Denver.)

Squawk sheet. A pilot's report of any defects discovered in flying a plane from factory to an air service command.

Skin. A reprimand, oral or written, for a flagrant violation of Army rules. Probably from 'skin 'im alive.'

Stripping. Disassembly of aircraft for shipping.

Tail feathers. Empennage (tail) of a plane.

Take a brace. To stand in exaggerated form of attention.

Take the bugs out. To correct errors or inconsistencies. Originally used for finding defects in new models of automobiles which had not yet been discovered by the engineers. Later taken over by the AAF, and finally applied to 'paper work.'

Tanks. In the Air Forces, generally refers to auxiliary fuel tanks.

Tokyo Tanks. Auxiliary fuel tanks, necessary for bombing Tokyo.

Tug. A four- or six-wheeled tractor used for towing planes on the ground or for towing warehouse trailers.

Visiting firemen. Generals on an inspection tour.

War-weary. Applied to aircraft too badly damaged to repair overseas, sent back to this country for rehabilitation or junking.

Wild cat. A railroad car which arrives at the Port of Embarkation without previous information that it was being sent.

ROBERT SHAFER

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G.I. ITALIAN*

I feel certain that the hundreds of thousands of boys who spent so much time in Italy will be rather proud of their knowledge of Italian, and will be eager, many of them, to solidify (if that's a good word) what they learned. The great majority are still, of course, at the stage where all Italian verbs exist only in the infinitive, and it's a source of delight to me to note how strong *our* influence has been on the Italians. All the shopkeepers, all the *donnine,* all the *sciuscia'* (bootblacks) have evolved their own pidgin, and get along swimmingly with the G.I.'s. It has reached the point where now it's

* Excerpt from a letter written by Major Costanzo to Professor Mario A. Pei of Columbia University. We are grateful to Major Costanzo and Professor Pei for permission to print this item.

almost useless to try to speak Italian to the small tradesmen. The *cameriera* will say: 'Lei dare me two stecche ciunga, ed io fare biancheria voi subito.' [Editor's note: two stecche ciunga = two sticks of chewing-gum.] The *portiere* invariably says, 'Dove andare?', if you go past him without stating whom you're visiting. A new language, that's what it is. And journalists write long articles on the *sciuscia'*, one of the most interesting phenomena of wartime Italy. These little *scugnizzi*, with pockets bulging with money, are a feature of the landscape, and remain a vivid memory to all the G.I.'s who have played in Palermo, Naples, Rome or Bari. To hear a soldier address a *signorina* (whom he invariably calls a *señorita*) is a treat. He will probably answer her 'Shack-job, Joe?' with 'Io no avére molto lire. Quanto costare voi?' The reply is usually something like 5000 lire, with lots of takers. Even the *ruffiani* [Editor's note: pimps] use the word *señorita* now. I suppose it's the standard form in the Army because the boys used the term in North Africa, where it took hold. Oddly enough, the word *vino* instead of *vin* became the accepted form in Africa, too—long before any of the boys had gone to Sicily. Influence of movies? Or our fellows from the Southwest? Or the great many Italo-Americans whose little knowledge of Italian made them interpreters for their fellows in Algeria and Tunisia? Anyway, you will see how very well a great many of the G.I.'s learned to speak languages other than their own. I've heard some excellent Sicilian spoken by an Amgot officer who had never been out of Wisconsin, but who had to learn it in a town in Trapani province. And others whose Arabic was perfectly intelligible to Arabs. And now they are meeting Romans and Florentines and Bolognesi. Our American officers of Italian descent—who claimed to speak Italian, but spoke only that compound of Neapolitan-Abruzzese-Barese-Sicilian-Calabrian that passes for Italian in New York—are finding the going rugged and have had to work hard to catch up with the officers who were not under that handicap.

JOSEPH B. COSTANZO
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G.I. TALK IN ICELAND

American soldiers moved into Iceland in June, 1941, replacing in part the British garrisons that had been stationed there since May, 1940. Icelanders were generally resigned to this occupation, without being especially happy about it. Relations between the American army and the Icelanders have been friendly, but definitely reserved on both sides. Very few have been fortunate enough to reach a stage of true fraternization. As one might expect, there has been rapprochement of a sort between American officers and a small contingent of the feminine population. Under these circumstances one could not look for any significant Icelandic influence on the

speech of Americans in the saga island. Very few Americans have sufficient historical or literary knowledge to appreciate the unique and venerable culture of Iceland; and the language itself places considerable barriers in the way of easy acquisition.

Through an American officer stationed in Iceland I have been fortunate enough, however, to learn of a few Icelandic expressions which have seeped into the American speech, particularly of officers. Most common is the word ['stukə], 'girl,' applied specifically to Icelandic girls, and so ordinary that it has ceased to be funny. This is of course the Icelandic word *stúlka* ['stu̥l·ka], 'girl,' which is rendered well enough except for the non-English voiceless [l̥]. The word naturally loses nothing in force by being assimilated to the popular word for a German dive-bomber, the Stuka. American WACs stationed in Iceland are said to be somewhat resentful over being occasionally referred to as 'G. I. Stukas.'

Another popular word is [skɑ], a somewhat surprising rendition of Icelandic *skál* [skɑu̥l̥], the familiar Scandinavian toast. Here the off-glide of the diphthong and the final, unvoiced (wholly or partially) [l̥] have disappeared completely, a result of the general Icelandic tendency to weakened finals. But when the same word appears in a phrase, with following vowel, these sounds are fully brought out. The expression is ['skɑuli ˌbʌt], 'bottoms up,' from the Icelandic *skál í botn* ['skɑul i 'bɔtn̥], with the same meaning (literally, 'bowl to the bottom'). This is a phrase much used in jovial company, and the failure to hear final non-syllabic voiceless [n̥] after [t] would not be surprising even in a sober man. Otherwise there is a one-to-one transfer of sounds to close phonetic equivalents.

Two other expressions of the phrase book variety are reported: ['ɑktəlɛɪ], 'all is right, O.K.,' and ['skɑməstin], 'shame on you.' The first is from Icelandic *allt i lagi* ['al̥·t i 'laɪi], 'all in order,' where the voiceless [l̥] (strongly fronted) was prominent enough to turn into a [k], and the Icelandic [aɪi] was heard as [ɛɪ]. The second is from Icelandic *skammastu þín,* 'aren't you ashamed of yourself,' popularly (but not 'correctly') pronounced ['skam·mastin]. Stressed short [a] plus long [m] is here turned into American long [ɑ] plus short [m], and the unstressed [a] inevitably becomes shwa.

Even if these phrases should be rendered into acceptable English orthography as *stuka, scah, scowly-butt, octolay,* and *scahmasteen,* they are hardly likely to leave any impress on American English. But they do illustrate an interesting process that must be going on in numerous far-flung theaters of war. We may look forward to hearing from the Icelanders in due course as to what alarming effects the American language has been having on *their* noble tongue.

EINAR HAUGEN
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FOUR NOTES ON AMERICAN ENGLISH

'Spring-keeper'

While collecting salamanders near Munson Hill, Virginia, years ago, I was informed by a colored woman that the red salamander (*Pseudotriton ruber*) which I caught in her presence was called a *spring-keeper*. In whatever sense taken, the term is of interest, but recently I have seen references that suggest a more profound significance than had previously occurred to me. Krappe (*The Science of Folklore,* 1930, p. 257) writes of 'the numerous tales hailing from various parts of the globe which relate how a dragon watches a spring and prevents the inhabitants from quenching their thirst,' and Hartland (*The Legend of Perseus,* 3, 1896, p. 73) states that 'many of the tales of the rescue of Andromeda represent the dragon as inhabiting a spring or lake, or keeping the waters and giving them only in exchange for the victim.' Is it too fanciful to think that there may be a connection, however faint and long drawn out, between beliefs as to the Virginia spring-keeper and some of the ancient dragon lore?

'Scoggin'

This term, also used in plural form with singular meaning, is prevalent on the shores of the great sounds of eastern North Carolina and has spread some distance both north and south. It is applied to herons, sometimes with qualifying prefixes by those who recognize the diversity of these birds. Seeking the derivation of the word, I found in the *OED* that the name of John Scoggin, court fool to Edward VI, is used allusively to mean jester or buffoon. Thus as an importation and survival it might be used to refer to these often ungainly birds, to which numerous ridiculous epithets have been given. The region, including the sites of some of the earliest English settlements, is a likely one for survivors from the language of the past. Another heron name of this locality, apparently in the same class, is *murrel hen.* Murrel, which I take to be *merle,* an ancient term meaning 'bluish-gray,' is one of numerous cognomens of the black-crowned night heron.

'Chicago Light'

During late summer in 1893, the year of the World's Columbian Exposition, the planet Venus was prominent as an evening star. Its position from our observation point—Marion, Indiana—at the comparatively early hour we were out of doors in the evening was such as to support the suggestion that it was a light sent up from the World's Fair grounds in Chicago. The rumor was diligently spread by the credulous and to one of my status then—a ten-year-old—was one of the facts of the universe. On seeing this beautiful luminous object apparently hanging in the air, we said, 'There, that's the Chicago Light.'

'Barn-door trousers'

The leading dictionaries either

omit, or fail to explain, this term. The *DAE* cites its use by George W. Cable, *Dr. Sevier,* p. 297 (the volume I have examined being dated 1889), where, though employed, the expression is not defined. A friend of a generation gone (1840-1916) told me about trousers, the front of which had an oblique row of buttonholes on each side, by means of which a large flap could be let down. This was the 'barn door,' giving origin to the name. He further said that those reaching his home region (Massachusetts) were part of a supply that had been made to put the populace in uniform under the French Commune of 1871. That being short-lived, its plans for regimentation came to nought and its supply of 'barn-door' trousers was apparently 'dumped' at bargain rates.

W. L. McAtee

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ABOUT WOLVES

We hear much about wolves these days. Long before the War, they naturally got into our national institution, the movies, and every third reliable script got its sure laugh out of the joke, flat or otherwise, about the wolf the lady nevertheless understood. The War has bred the species successfully; the *Stars and Stripes,* daily paper of the U. S. Army, gives all varieties expert attention in the 'Hash Marks' column, regularly coming out with some observation in this tradition:

> The London press reported that a giant wolf, eight feet long and claimed to be one of the biggest ever seen, has been caught in the mountains of Norway. Reading this item a British girl commented, 'I didn't know the *Yanks* had landed there yet!'[1]

But there is at any rate one isolated Victorian who found that, shortly after another war, the same word was an exact description; and it is, appropriately, Becky Sharp who uses it. It is found in Chapter XXXVII of *Vanity Fair.* The Marquess of Steyne is with a small group at the Rawdon Crawley's house in Curzon Street, Mayfair, when Becky surprises Rawdon with an unusual request:

> 'Rawdon,' said Becky, very late one night as a party of gentlemen were seated round the crackling drawing-room fire (for the men came to her house to finish the night; and she had ice and coffee for them, the best in London) 'I must have a sheep-dog.'
>
> 'A what?' said Rawdon, looking up from an *ecarté* table.
>
> 'A sheep-dog,' said young Lord Southdown. 'My dear Mrs. Crawley, what a fancy! Why not have a Danish dog? I know of one as big as a camelopard, by Jove. It would almost pull your brougham. Or a little Persian greyhound, eh? (I propose, if you please;) or a little pug that would go into one of Lord Steyne's snuff boxes? There's a man at Bayswater got one with such a nose that you might —I mark the king and play—that you might hang your hat on it.'
>
> 'I mark the trick,' Rawdon gravely said. He attended to his game commonly, and didn't much meddle with the conversation except when it was about horses and betting.
>
> 'What *can* you want with a shepherd's dog,' the lively little Southdown continued.

1. *Stars and Stripes,* March 20, 1944.

'I mean a *moral* shepherd's-dog,' said Becky, laughing and looking up at Lord Steyne.

'What the devil's that?' said his lordship.

'A dog to keep the wolves off me,' Rebecca continued. 'A companion.'

'Dear little lamb, you want one,' said the marquis; and his jaw thrust out, and he began to grin hideously, his little eyes leering towards Rebecca.

This War apparently carries on where another left off.

JOHN HAZARD WILDMAN
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DIALECTAL PECULIARITIES OF ATHENS, OHIO

A person coming to Athens, Ohio, for the first time at once notices the distinctly local pronunciation of certain common sounds. These phonetic phenomena are found in all social levels, including town officials, business people and even native school teachers. A little investigation will reveal also that they are quite general over an area of about thirty or forty miles about Athens, reaching the vicinity of Lancaster and Chillicothe. The continual flow of students from all parts of the country and the permanent faculty of Ohio University situated here have had hardly any influence on the natives so far.

Disregarding minor aspects which a more scientific analysis would show, this paper proposes to discuss briefly the most outstanding dialectal peculiarities of the simple sounds *-ish, -ush,* short *a* and *o,* and *au, aw.*

-ish. This combination is invariably heard as *-eesh.* It must be understood, of course, that this *-eesh* occurs whenever the *i* is followed by a *sh*-sound, whatever the combination of letters may be; such as in *-ish, -ition, -icial, -ission, -issu.* Hence, a native will pronounce *fish, ignition, official, commission, vision, fissure,* and *issue* as *feesh, igneetion, offeecial, commeession, veesion, feessure* and *eessue.* Short *i* in any other position is normal in this area.

-ush. This combination is generally pronounced *-oosh,* especially in the words *bush, bushel, push,* which are invariably heard as *boosh, booshel, poosh.* Long and short *u,* as in *fuse* and *tub,* are normal here.

a. In this region and generally throughout Ohio the short *a* approaches the sound of short *e* as in *met, bet,* though somewhat prolonged. Consequently, such words as *calf, half, land, pass, past, salve,* etc., are usually pronounced *keff, heff, lend, pess, pest, sevv,* etc.

o. Although short *o* has the generally accepted sound in most words, in a small number of cases it is heard as *aw* in *law,* or as *o* in *more, fort.* Therefore, while *hop, pop, mop, stop* and many similar words are pronounced correctly with the sound of short *o, hog, fog, log, stock* and a few more are pronounced as though spelled *hawg, fawg, lawg, stawk.*

au, aw. The digraphs *au* and *aw* approach the sounds of *o* in *come, stop, done,* so that *caught, daughter, automobile, lawn* are pronounced *cut, dotter, ottomobile, lon.*

There are many other linguistic peculiarities found in this area, such as a persistent nasality approaching a southern drawl, and the unusual 'mango' for green pepper; but it is the phonetic phenomena mentioned above that distinguish the Athenian dialect.

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CAMPUS SLANG AT MINNESOTA

[The following was written by Nancy Calkin, a student at the University of Minnesota and a resident of Minneapolis, as a theme in Freshman English. At my suggestion she added the list of definitions, and with her permission I have made a few emendations. The expert in college slang may readily classify some of the expressions in terms of their relative age and geographical distribution; but many of the words and phrases are, no doubt, either local or ephemeral or both.—W. R.]

The Diploma Mill

Walking down the rahway[1] of our fresh-water college formally known as the State University of Minnesota, I met one of my classmutes,[2] Ann Atomy. She had just come from Anguish[3] class. Her gerund grinder is known as the Ph.D. demon or comma hound.[4] My femme[5] friend was really dressed up. She had on her duty dress[6] and a French pancake.[7] She looked like the bull of the woods[8] except for her brown and white gunboats,[9] which spoiled the picture. Ann said she was on her way to the Phi Beta house.[10] Since I am a drudge-dud[11] and a D. A. R.,[12] I joined her. Our purpose in going libeward[13] was to do some noodlework[14] for the white plague[15] which was practically upon us.

We had good intentions of skull-dragging[16] but were swayed by a boula-boula[17] sitting across from us with hardware[18] on his chest. He is a B. M. O. C.[19] and everybody's L. H. B.[20] Everyone knows he is a chicken butcher,[21] a chic sheik,[22] and a candy leg.[23] He is good in pigskinology,[24] and is therefore one of the best muscle molls[25] or offensive weapons[26] still around. Despite the distraction, Ann and I finally got down to work and really noodled[27] for about an hour. We made flash notes[28] and underlined our chin music or chalk talk.[29] We studied everything from Bugology[30] and Dismal Science[31] to Kidology[32] and Kitcheneering.[33]

After racking our brains for a solid hour we departed from Almus Pater,[34] otherwise known as the Knowledge Box or foundry.[35] We hopped in the Son Chiot[36] belonging to Jonathan Simonizer[37] and drove off, waving merrily from the observation platform.[38]

KEY

1. RAHWAY. The Mall, the central quadrangle of the campus.
2. CLASSMUTES. Classmates.
3. ANGUISH. English.
4. GERUND GRINDER, Ph. D. DEMON, COMMA HOUND. English instructor.
5. FEMME. Girl.

6. DUTY DRESS. School dress.
7. FRENCH PANCAKE. Flat hat.
8. BULL OF THE WOODS. Big shot, important person.
9. GUNBOATS. Saddle shoes.
10. PHI BETA HOUSE. Library.
11. DRUDGE-DUD. Serious student.
12. D. A. R. Darn average raiser, i. e., a serious student.
13. LIBEWARD. Toward the library.
14. NOODLEWORK. Studying.
15. WHITE PLAGUE. Final examinations.
16. SKULL-DRAGGING. Studying.
17. BOULA-BOULA. Man.
18. HARDWARE. Fraternity pins.
19. B. M. O. C. Big man on campus.
20. L. H. B. Lost heart-beat.
21. CHICKEN BUTCHER. One who 'slays' the girls.
22. CHIC SHEIK. Smooth man.
23. CANDY LEG. Rich fellow.
24. PIGSKINOLOGY. Football.
25. MUSCLE MOLL. Strong man.
26. OFFENSIVE WEAPON. Good player.
27. NOODLE. Study (v.)
28. FLASH NOTES. Notes on cards or slips for efficient review of course work.
29. CHIN MUSIC, CHALK TALK. (Notes on) lectures.
30. BUGOLOGY. Bacteriology.
31. DISMAL SCIENCE. Economics.
32. KIDOLOGY. Child psychology.
33. KITCHENEERING. Home Economics.
34. ALMUS PATER. The probably inevitable masc. of Alma Mater.
35. KNOWLEDGE BOX, FOUNDRY. University.
36. SON CHIOT. Convertible (from 'Sun chariot').
37. JONATHAN SIMONIZER. Apple polisher.
38. OBSERVATION PLATFORM. Rumble seat.

NANCY CALKIN
WILLIAM RANDEL
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TREASURE ISLAND SPELLING

Give the U. S. Navy enlisted man a can of paint, a brush and an order to make a sign, and the reader gets a jolt, if he can spell. No matter how much gold braid orders the sign, it is evident that gold braid doesn't think enough of the order to inspect and correct the result. Here are a few of the spellings on Treasure Island, San Francisco, California.

On a directory board the visitor reads that as he turns to the right he will run into the 'Banks of America,' although the representative of the banking industry on this island is the Bank of America. Beyond the Bank, he finds himself at the 'Atheletic Field.' Further on, he is stopped by the signs 'Authorized Personal Only' and 'Sick Officers Quatres.' The bewildered visitor boards a 'U. S. Navy Emmergency' truck. At that moment a bus passes with 'U. S. Navy Transportion' on its side.

There is a large bas relief map of the world set in an old fountain. Of two explanatory, and supposedly identical, signs, one reads: 'This Terra Cotta Relief Map showing the Pacific Ocean and its adjoing Land Areas . . . ,' and the other: 'This Terra Cotta Relief Map showing the Pacific Ocean and it's adjoing Land Areas. . . .' The painter evidently thought something should be done about 'its' and 'it's,' but left 'adjoing' for posterity.

Around the corner the visitor finds an inconspicuous little door over which is painted 'Chaplin's Storeroom'! What could little Charlie have locked up on Treas-

ure Island that lawyers didn't bring into court?

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'POCHISMO'

A dispatch from Mexico City in the Albuquerque *Tribune* of February 21, 1945, reports that a group of Mexicans in the northern border state of Nuevo Leon is campaigning against 'a barbaric invasion of the mother tongue'—*pochismo*—Mexican slang for 'a rapidly increasing vocabulary of bastardized words which are neither Spanish nor Yanqui.' The adjective *pocho* means discolored or denatured. It was borrowed to designate American-born Mexicans. Now it refers to 'Gringo lingo.'

The Mexican Academy is preparing lists of 'pure Spanish' equivalents for all pochismos. It cannot, however, find suitable equivalents for sports terms. *Jonrun, estraic, jit,* and *beisbol* mean, respectively, homerun, strike, hit, and baseball. To be abolished are conversational 'pochismos' such as greeting or saying goodbye in English, the frequent use of 'O.K.,' 'and how,' 'you're telling me?', words such as 'lobby,' and hundreds of others imported from the United States.

Opposed to the purists, said *Newsweek,* August 14, 1944, p. 76, are 'the nonintellectuals, comprising the majority of Mexicans, café society which uses pochismo to smart up its chitchat, slapstick actors like Tin Tan (Herman Valdes) who get comic effects with pocho patter, and the Mexican bobby-sox crowd which dotes on English.'

Professor T. M. Pearce of the University of New Mexico, apropos of the Mexican campaign for linguistic purity, while arguing against static language (Albuquerque *Tribune,* February 21, 1945), commented that a movement against overdoing some of these expressions might well begin at home.

WELLERISMS: SOME FURTHER EVIDENCE

Professor Whiting's recent article on American Wellerisms (*American Speech,* Feb. 1945) recalls the character of Boniface, the Lichfield landlord in Farquhar's *The Beaux' Stratagem* (1707). Boniface's habit of repeating 'as the saying is' after statements of fact that have little or no proverbial flavor about them is used for humorous effect in the play. In the first portion of Act I, for example, Boniface uses this mannerism so frequently that Archer finally mocks him with it:

> *Boniface.* I'll wait on 'em.—[*To Archer.*] Does your master stay long in town, as the saying is?
>
> *Archer.* I can't tell, as the saying is.

While not a Wellerism in the strict sense,[1] this expression as used by

1. Whiting's collection of Wellerisms printed in the *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen,* CLXIX (1936), 71-75, contains a number of examples using only the formula 'as the fellow (or feller) says.' Several such are taken from the writings of John Dos Passos and Carl Carmer. These form a kind of link between Boniface's 'as the saying is' and the full-blown Wellerism.

Boniface shows clearly the popular interest and confidence in proverbial expressions during the neoclassical age, as well as the distaste for them on the part of the elite. Boniface's pseudo-proverbs are made quite as ridiculous as Sancho Panza's real ones.

Similarly in American humor, Finley Peter Dunne's Mr. Dooley was fond of the catch-phrase '. . . as Hogan says.' Both Boniface and Mr. Dooley wish to give sanction to their utterances beyond what their own personal authority will carry; and this understandable human desire to have one's opinions respected drives them into the refuge of supposed quotation. Humorists later made such quotation incongruous or witty, keeping the framework both as ground for further incongruity and as a standardized humorous formula; and thus a fad in humor was born.

From the standpoint of language, one of the most interesting things about humorous Wellerisms is their skilful use of a colloquial idiom in a new context. They employ the very effective trick of setting up a familiar expression which is to be given a twist (usually a return to the literal or to a much more concrete meaning). Beginning with some such semi-proverbial idiom or cliché as 'I'm laboring under a false impression,' or 'You can't keep a good man down,' they offer an entirely different train of association from that which the reader or hearer already has in his mind. Thus, if the saying is well-known in the first place, the humor is obviously heightened through seeing the familiar in an incongruous light, with the additional gain that the middle part of the unvarying formula, '. . . as So-and-So said . . . ,' is a signal which offers the pleasure of anticipated fun. Riddles and conundrums are often more labored forms of this same sort of linguistic trickery.

American Wellerisms, as Whiting shows, are still far from dead. Most readers will immediately recognize the formula as well as some of the examples in the generous list provided by the article referred to, and could probably add one or two of their own. One of my favorites has two printable versions: '"It's all off . . ." *or* "It won't be long now," as the monkey said, when he caught his tail in the lawnmower.'

JOSEPH JONES
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'MOSSYBACK' AND 'CARPETBAGGER'

'A New-England Dialogue,' reprinted in a recent issue of *American Speech* (XIX [1944], 226-27) from a communication to *Notes and Queries,* should have been accompanied by the statement that 'Uneda' of Philadelphia was William Duane (see *Notes and Queries,* Ninth Series, IX [1902], 426, and observe the anagram). Another note of 'Uneda' 's is worth rescuing:

> The unhappy state of affairs in our Southern States has added two words to the English language—*Mossyback* and *Carpetbagger.*

A *Mossyback* is a man who secreted himself in the woods or swamps to escape the conscription for the Southern army, where he is said to have remained hidden until the moss grew on his back.

A *Carpetbagger* is an adventurer from the Northern States who has come to the South to be elected to office by the votes of the negroes. A carpet-bag is sufficient to contain all his luggage, and his character is usually on a par with his property. (*Notes and Queries.* Fourth Series, I [May 30, 1869], 507).

Both the NED and the DAE have various examples of *carpet-bagger* from 1868, but their first quotation for *mossyback* (NED, *s.v.* mossback) is taken from M. Schele de Vere's *Americanisms: the English of the New World* (New York, 1872; copyright 1871). 'Uneda,' then, gives us a formal definition of *carpet-bagger* as early as the earliest recorded use, and he advances the date of *mossyback* by three years.

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DIVIDED ACCENTS

The difficulty of preparing popular articles on English usage is illustrated by Maxwell Nurnberg's 'Accent on Words' in *Good Housekeeping* for October, 1944. The standards in this article are far more realistic than those in most attempts to improve general usage. Mr. Nurnberg recognizes, for example, divided usage in the accenting of *adult, chauffeur, detail, detour, research, romance,* and some others.

But he calls for *address', dec'ade,* and *robust',* although Webster's, our most conservative dictionary, ten years ago noted that these were reputably stressed on either syllable. In addition, he would allow only *baptize', grimace',* and *prece'dence,* in which he is borne out by most dictionaries, although observation finds that the accent in these, certainly in *grimace* and *precedence,* also shows divided usage.

We welcome all efforts to help people use their language with greater accuracy and confidence. But it is unfortunate when possibly conscientious readers of an influential magazine may be led to try to avoid a usage that is in good repute.

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'TUB' AND 'SHELL'

At the few taverns in Austin, Texas, where draught beer is sold, a large sixteen-ounce glass, regardless of shape, is quite generally called a *tub.* The small eight-ounce glass is called a *shell.* These uses of *tub* and *shell* are not found in the dictionaries.

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'A COUPLE OF' FOR 'A FEW'

I find in working with undergraduate English classes that many students understand the phrase 'a couple of' to connote 'a few.' This is not universal, but the following dialogue illustrates the practice of those who have this notion:

'Hand me *a couple of* sheets of paper,' Jim said. Tim tore *two* sheets from his pad and gave them to his friend.

Jim was exasperated. 'Oh, give me *some* paper,' he grumbled.

Is this use of the phrase limited to my geographical area, or is it in current speech throughout the country?

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'KENTUCKY WINDAGE'

'Kentucky windage,' in rifle parlance, means aiming to one side of what is shot at, to allow for the wind or an inaccurate rifle. Real 'windage,' of course, refers to an adjustment of the rear sight.

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THE ORIGIN OF 'BASIC SEDIMENT'

As professors of English seldom have a technical education, the origin of industrial terms has generally been neglected by students of speech. Some of these terms have had an unusual beginning, as in the following story told to the writer by an old time oil man:

About thirty years ago, everything disagreeable was designated in popular slang by two English words of four letters, which in more elegant language would be referred to as the excrement of a male bovine animal.

The men who had to get into the tanks at the oil refineries and shovel out the thick, slimy residue referred to it by this popular slang term. In time, it became known throughout the oil industry as 'B. S.'

But the time came when strict bookkeeping methods made it necessary to account for every barrel of oil coming into the refinery. Some more euphonious expression had to be found and as 'B. S.' was generally known, it should be a term which would have these letters as initials. 'Basic Sediment' was the term hit upon.

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'DIXIE'S LAND' IN THE GAME OF TAG?

The *New York Weekly* of December 30, 1872 (Vol. 28, No. 8, p. 6) contains a paragraph explaining the origin of 'Dixie's Land' according to the generally accepted theory that it derives from the 'Dixy' plantation on Manhattan Island. Emmett's popularization of the term through the song is also mentioned, and the account closes with these statements: 'Its origin has been described as Southern, but such is not the case. During any time within the last eighty years the term "Dixie's Land" has been in use with the New York boys while engaged in the game of "tag." '

Has this usage survived?

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